Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-118
Tuesday
22 June 1993

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FBIS-SOV-93-118 22 June 1993

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Human Rights Conference Continues in Vienna

Tajik Foreign Minister on Forum

PM2106131809 93 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 3

[Correspondent Igor Melnikov report under the general headline: "Everyone Has His Own View. World Conference Continues Its Work"]

[Excerpt] Vienna, 17 Jun—Two elderly gentlemen engaged in a lively discussion came down the escalator and mixed with the crowd which swept them across the enormous hall of the Austria Center toward the exit. Many people recognized the faces of Kurt Waldheim and his companion Cardinal Konig. The former used to be president of Austria and was UN Secretary General for many years. The latter is an indisputable authority not only in spiritual but also in political circles, and was once reputed to have been a candidate for the Vatican throne. It was to him that I put this question: "How does this conference promise to develop?"

"I would not describe its opening as placid, but..." Cardinal Konig remarked and, flashing a good-natured smile, added in Russian: "Let us hope..."

This optimism—albeit cautious—is shared by a number of participants at the World Conference on Human Rights. For example Rashid Alimov, a representative of quite a different generation who lives many thousands of kilometers from Vienna. He is the Republic of Tajikistan's foreign minister, and he made the following remarks in an interview with PRAVDA:

"My attention was caught by the fact that during the very first speeches a persistent appeal was voiced not to turn our conference into a confrontation, still less a squabble or a slanging match. We need an atmosphere of cooperation, not mutual attacks.

"It seems that some organizations and certain individuals," R. Alimov went on, "intend to speculate on the problems we are discussing and thereby distract people from resolving more urgent, primarily economic, tasks. In conclusion I would like to say that the subject of human rights is very topical for Tajikistan, just as it is for the rest of our new states, incidentally."

Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev made a speech. It was eagerly anticipated, but in the final analysis it proved disappointing because of the ordinary nature of its content, its lack of fresh ideas, and the absence of any analysis of the human rights situation in contemporary Russia. This was the opinion of Western journalists and diplomats in the lobbies.

A rumor was circulating the rounds of the group of correspondents accompanying the minister on his Athens-Vienna tour that the prepared speech had gotten lost with some of the luggage during the transfer from the Greek capital, and that the text had to be hurriedly rewritten. I will undertake neither to confirm nor deny this strange story, especially as it basically has no bearing on the main point. Far more important is the fact that from a professional standpoint the speech was inferior to those delivered by many of the orators during the days that the conference has been going on. But in its four pages, what it did have plenty of was propagandist cliches. For example: "Having upheld their rights and freedoms on the barricades in August 1991, our people affirmed their support for the democratic course in the April 1993 referendum."

Kravchanka Speaks at Conference

WS2206094893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka has delivered a report at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. According to information obtained by the BELINFORM correspondent at the Department for Information at the Belarusian Foreign Ministry, the foreign minister discussed the difficulties of creating a democratic society in Belarus and the current changes that are taking place in the Republic. He drew special attention to the issue of ensuring the right to life and ecological and nuclear security, citing the data on the deteriorated state of health of the Belarusian population in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster. Speaking on the UN activities in Belarus, Petr Kravchanka marked the priority guidelines of this work in the human rights sphere. He touched upon the issues of nuclear disarmament and security, paying special attention to the disarmament problems of the Republic. Speculating on the UN peacekeeping activities of Belarus, the foreign minister again confirmed the readiness of the Republic to hold a peace conference on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Minsk.

Russian CP Official Comments

PM2206090793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 3

[Valentina Nikiforova report on interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee, under general headline: "Everyone Has His Own View. World Conference Continues Its Work"]

[Text] On the initiative of the Austrian Communist Party [CP] leadership, a Vienna roundtable has discussed the topic "Human Rights and the Socialist Movement." One of the participants—Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee—gives an account of this:

"An extraordinary event has occurred. For the first time in many years, communists and socialists have met to discuss not just their party affairs but also their attitude to the issues of the day, so to speak. Yes, they are interested in the political and economic situation in Russia and the former USSR republics (I had to speak

three times). Concern was also expressed about the position of working people in developed capitalist countries.

"The Russian tragedy—it can only be viewed as such—also alarms them. The roundtable participants were puzzled as to why the intelligentsia is remaining silent. A few years ago people all over Europe were up in arms about 300 Soviet dissidents, but today over 2 million people have been deprived of their rights in the Baltic states alone. But the newspapers remain silent and the ubiquitous television reporters do not notice people's misfortunes."

[Nikiforova] Gennadiy Andreyevich, do you get the impression that the Vienna roundtable is the beginning of a union of left-wing forces?

[Zyuganov] Yes, it is a start. And the way forward lies in the specific concerns of parties of a communist and socialist orientation. The sooner Russian communists and socialists formulate a unified position, the more successful their struggle for human rights will be.

BSEC Assembly Helps Promote Economic Contacts

LD2106132293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1239 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 21 (TASS)—A parliamentary assembly of Black Sea Economic Cooperation countries (BSEC) met in session in Istanbul on June 16-18. Head of the Russian parliamentary press-service, Yuriy Marechenkov, has described the results of the assembly as extremely fruitful and promising considerable advantages to all.

The first session of the assembly was attended not only by representatives of states directly adjoining the Black Sea coast, such as Russia, Turkey, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania, but Armenia, Azerbaijan and Moldova as well. Taking part in the session was an independent representative from Greece.

Participants in the assembly believe that the newly established international organisation will help undo the knot of contradictions barring economic contacts between the neighbouring states.

Marechenkov said that apart from official meetings with the president and the Turkish Parliament chairman, Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov twice met with representatives of Turkish business circles. During the first meeting the sides discussed general prospects for cooperation, while the second meeting focused on concrete projects, in particular, a project on the construction of a big sea port near the city of Novorossiysk with modern terminals. The projects has been assessed at several billion dollars.

Husamettin Cindoruk, chairman of the Turkish National Assembly, has been elected BSEC president, and Georgiy Zhukov, chairman of the Russian Committee for Affairs of Councils and Local Governments, has been appointed BSEC vice-president.

The second session of the BSEC assembly is expected to be held in September.

Regional Market Forum Opens in Moscow

LD2106131793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The fourth forum of the international congress for a regional market in East Europe and Asia and the international fund for assistance to enterprise opened in Moscow today. The theme of the forum is Russia's foreign economic ties with the countries of the CIS, Eastern Europe, and Asia.

[Correspondent Z. Guretskaya] About 300 entrepreneurs and heads of foreign economic ties at enterprises are taking part in the forum. According to tradition, the forum was opened by Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, , who announced that the Moscow government had drawn up proposals for the Russian Federation government on the further development of foreign economic ties, within the context of the reforms currently being implemented. The main proposals are a change of price scales, matching the ruble exchange rate to international currency rates, and switching export prices for Russian goods to world prices.

And what are the main problems for our enterprises which are prepared to export their output? At present, fuels make up 85 percent of our exports.

[M. Lvin, of the Omsk Tire production association] As yet the legislation does not help us to expand our foreign ties.

[Guretskaya] That is, we have things to trade with, but simply cannot do it!

[Lvin] Absolutely. We keep talking about establishing a most favored regime, but to get out into the foreign market, we first have to overcome the internal difficulties.

[Guretaskaya] The producers have come to the capital to find out whether anything will change in the near future. Will they hear any answer to their question?

[Economist Pavel Bunich, conference organizer] In part they will, because in general the fetters are being removed from exports. At one time there was a ban on export even of ferrous metals, now no licences and quotas are required at all. The hope is that there will be a cut in export tariffs.

Black Sea Officer Sees Russian Fleet Expanding

IIS2206080393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Sevastopol—In due course, life will demand the expansion of the presence of the Russian naval fleet ships in the crucial points of the world's oceans. This was declared by Vice-Admiral Petro Svyatashov, Black Sea fleet chief of staff, who currently exercises command over a detachment of the fleet's ships on a mission in the Mediterranean Sea. In the event of an emergency and the exacerbation of conflicts, we should feel confident, stressed P. Svyatashov.

Armenia Thinks 'Caucasian Home' Concept Premature

PM2106135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Report by Karen Topchyan: "Peace, Democracy, and Cooperation in the Region"]

[Text] Yerevan—This was the motto of a meeting of political parties from the three Transcaucasian countries held in Tbilisi the other day. The Georgian Justice Party was behind it. The forum was also attended by the Georgian People's Front and Green Party, the Armenian "Dashnaktsutyun" revolutionary federation, the "Constitutional Law" Union, the Republican Party, the "Zharang" national conservative club (all of them from Armenia), and also the Azerbaijani "Yurdash" party. I would point out that they are all in opposition to their countries' leaderships.

According to the Armenian delegation, the Tbilisi meeting was productive on the whole. As one of the forum's participants, Yervand Gasparyan, said, the Georgian and Azerbaijani sides proposed the signing of a declaration they had prepared on the advisability of creating a "Caucasian Home," which our delegation refused to do. The reason being that the idea of a "Caucasian Home" is clearly premature and it is still too early to talk about it. Before discussing any specific action to unify the Transcaucasus, the current contradictions and problems among our peoples have to be resolved, in particular, the conflicts in the region have to be stopped. Moreover, the Armenian representative believes, the explanation of the proposal on a Caucasian home had a distinctly anti-Russian flavor. So an effort was being made to blame imperial forces in Russia for the present situation in the Transcaucasus. Disagreeing with this interpretation of the reasons for today's highly dramatic situation in the region, the Armenian delegation observed that the conflicts and unresolved matters in the Transcaucasus have deep historical roots, rather than having been introduced from outside. And if we are talking about interference by other states in the region's affairs, we must be talking about Turkey, which is actively involved in the confrontation in the Transcaucasus.

In the end the sides signed a joint communique in which the meeting participants, despite considerable contradictions, "expressed a wish to seek an end to the wars in the Caucasus and contribute to the creation of political mechanisms in the resolution of conflict questions."

Successor Organization to DOSAAF Set Up

PM2106134593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 3

[Farid Fazulzyanov report: "Another Reincarnation of DOSAAF"]

[Text] Moscow—The former USSR's defense society is becoming a confederation.

The First Congress of the Union of Defense Sports and Technical Organizations of the Sovereign States (UDSTOSS) took place in Moscow 16 June. Representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine took part in it. The congress' task was to ratify the decisions of the Eighth USSR DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] Central Committee Plenum held in October 1991 which mandated that the defense society be transformed into the interrepublic Union of Defense Sports and Technical Organizations [UDSTO] and become a confederative association with the status of an international organization.

As you know, the Russian president's edict of 31 May this year gives instructions that some former DOSAAF property be transferred to federal ownership, supposedly due to the lack of a legal successor. In the opinion of the conference organizers, this constitutes an attempt by executive organs to interfere in the affairs of a public organization—the Russian UDSTO.

After discussing the report by Colonel General Ye. Krylov, chairman of the UDSTOSS Central Committee, the delegates approved the proposed measures. Henceforth the confederation of defense societies of the former USSR republics will be called the Union of Defense Sports and Technical Organizations of the Independent States.

Importance of Economic Cooperation Viewed

PM2206090193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts article under the "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Russia, Ukraine, CIS..."]

[Text] People grow accustomed to anything. Thus, we, the inhabitants of the former Soviet Union, seem to have gotten accustomed to living in conditions of crisis, be they political or economic crises. Who could be amazed by multiple price hikes, huge demonstrations, or mass strikes? But the events in Ukraine this week do, in my view, merit very close attention. Not only owing to their

scale, although the strikes and protest actions have encompassed virtually the whole southeast of the republic. And not even owing to the political consequences, although the strikes have forced the people's representatives to agree to hold a referendum on confidence in the president and the parliament.

In my view, this crisis has highlighted an extremely curious trend, which may, in the future, be crucial in the so-called post-Soviet area. For all that the economic position of all the states in this area leaves a great deal to be desired, Kiev, in the Soviet tradition, has managed to cause itself major additional difficulties. I am referring to the attempt to put the idea of total and absolute independence into practice. It is probably possible, although far from always rational, to achieve this in politics or defense. But in the current circumstances the desire to secure economic independence is comparable to trying to be independent of the law of gravity. With all the attendant consequences or, more precisely, the consequences that fall on the heads of the supporters of "independence."

Remember that it is Kiev that has opposed—resolutely and extremely consistently—any attempts to coordinate economic efforts within the CIS framework. Ukraine blocked the creation of common organs, which it constantly saw as the revival of the notorious "center." It was Kiev that carried on an utterly pointless dispute over its share of the USSR's foreign assets, preventing our foreign creditors from adopting the decision to reschedule debt repayments. And Ukraine was more zealous than the others in erecting customs and other barriers in the way of normal commodity turnover between the republics. Trade and economic links that had taken not years or decades but centuries to create were blocked. The result is obvious: economic collapse.

I am by no means writing this in order to reproach and accuse anyone in particular. Russia, too, has plenty of people willing to destroy and smash what we have in the name of their own, often speculative, idea. I am writing this to, once again, emphasize that the idea of a "sovereign economy," an idea which is being implemented most consistently in Ukraine but which has affected all the new states (and is still exciting certain Russian regional leaders, who are now campaigning for oblast sovereignty), has not stood the test of practice. It turns out that you cannot escape from the crisis on your own.

A whole series of objective factors precludes this. To wit, the approximately identical level of the CIS states' economic development, the fact that they are tied to specific sources of raw materials and subassemblies, and their obvious inability to sell competitive goods on the oversaturated world market in the near future all make it necessary to seek means of integration rather than try to run as far as possible from one another.

For the time being the fear of once again ending up in a totalitarian empire has prevented us from being aware of this. The euphoria over total sovereignty has also gotten in the way. But now that the republics have laid the foundations of their own statehood, something else is becoming increasingly obvious. Namely that it is not collaboration but the lack of it that poses a threat to this statehood.

Significantly, this has been realized by those who encounter the daily hardships of life nowadays. They were more perspicacious and rational than some politicians. Events in Ukraine have shown that jingoistic statements to the effect that Russia is mainly to blame for the crisis do not wash. On the contrary, demands to join the CIS economic union and the banking, customs, and payments unions have taken an important place among the political demands. Now may be the first time that there has been such a clear call for reintegration (without, of course, encroaching on state independence).

Leaders can no longer ignore these calls. It is indicative that at the moment the situation reached critical level, the Ukrainian president did not run the risk of postponing the meeting with his Russian counterpart. What is more, if this meeting has not brought concrete solutions to contentious problems, it has at least indicated the ways by which a solution to the deadlock must be sought. And the free trade agreement may be called a step in the right direction.

It goes without saying that it is too early today to say that this approach has won through in Ukraine. But let us not forget that it has been Kiev's policy throughout the CIS' existence that has been the main factor delaying the pooling of Commonwealth economic efforts. And if the development of the political process causes this policy to be reviewed, the CIS may find itself with fresh prospects.

I would remind you that one of the most rational leaders, Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev, is drafting a very interesting integration concept. He is proposing, in particular, to develop collaboration as West European countries did in the past by cooperating in certain sectors and formulating a common policy for the production and sale of certain kinds of output.

At any rate the CIS states seem to be starting to emerge from the period of estrangement. I would hope that this trend will grow stronger and gain momentum.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Jun

LD2206051193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0453 GMT 22 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—The 52nd anniversary of the start of Nazi Germany's aggression against Soviet Russia is the principal topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) writes: "The number of Soviet citizens killed by the Nazis on the temporarily occupied territories of Soviet republics is

staggering—1,793,000 in the Russian Federation, 4,497,000 in Ukraine, 2,198,000 in Belarus, 666,000 in Lithuania, 125,000 in Estonia, and 64,000 in Moldova. Such things are never forgotten".

"This year we mark the date officially for the first time. The president of the Russian Federation signed an executive order to mark June 22 as a the Day of the Commemoration of the Defenders of the Motherland. This document, for the first time, perhaps, combines the will of the people, their memories about those who perished in the war and an official confirmation of the state's indebtedness to them.

"It is significant that the executive order is of practical orientation. Along with traditional official activities, provision is made, for example, for arrangements to put in order the graves of the military at cemeteries, monuments and obelisks during an all-Russia commemoration vigil and for specific measures to carry out a survey of how war veterans and disabled frontline soldiers live, with a view to improving their living conditions, medical and welfare services and many other things", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

PRAVDA, under the headline "This Is How the War Began" carries reminiscences of prominent writer Ivan Stadnyuk who sets out one of the versions of how the war began, on the strength of his conversations with the then people's commissar for foreign affairs Vyacheslav Molotov.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, under the headline "When The War Broke Out", runs a polemic article about the causes of the start of the war. "History manuals still tell us so far that the war was launched by the Nazis on June 22, 1941. But something is, probably, wrong with the truths presented in school manuals if, for almost half a century, there have been claims that the war began earlier or later than that date. And not by fascists-aggressors but against fascists, who as a result of some fancy interpretations are portrayed almost as tragic victims driven into the military- strategic trap by the genius of Joseph Stalin," the article notes.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE), recalling remarkable stories about Soviet people's heroic fight against the Nazi aggressors, at the same time mentions the titles of the so-called "works" by people that are far from the war and who "try to make some capital on the tragic pages of national history."

The newspaper reckons the book entitled "The Icebreaker" among such works. It is authored by former Soviet Army Major Rezun who was born after the war and who fled to Britain in 1978. He made up his own version of the causes why the war broke out. The newspaper describes the version as nonsensical.

TRUD writes about success of efforts, launched by the newspaper exactly 25 years ago, to trace people who were reported missing in action during the war.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Yevgeniy Morozov, an instructor at the operational art department at the Frunze military academy, who is of the opinion that the status of the defence capability of Russian troops in the Western strategic sector leaves much to be desired.

ROSSIISKIYE VESTI singles out ITAR-TASS information that Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President Bill Clinton are to meet in Tokyo on July 10, this year, a day after the Group-of-Seven summit comes to a close.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA quotes an opinion expressed by the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN, which has got hold of a draft final document of the meeting, which points out in particular that the summit is really expected to support the market reforms in Russia but the volume of assistance will apparently turn out to be quite modest 00 500 million [figure as received] U.S. dollars, i.e., one-eighth of what was suggested by President Clinton who called for the establishment of a multilateral fund of support.

So far, "the West's good intentions quite often go down in history only as pleasantly-sounding declarations", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observes.

Clinton Still Considers Aid 'Good Investment'

PM2106141593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Clinton Still Considers Russian Aid a 'Good Investment' for United States"]

[Text] Washington—"Russian aid is a good investment for the United States. In the long term we stand to earn a lot of money from this since U.S. companies will be able to invest in Russia with greater security," U.S. President Bill Clinton said Wednesday [16 June].

During a conversation with journalists in the White House, he voiced the hope that the Russian aid program formulated by his administration will be ratified by Congress.

In his public statements, Clinton has not broached this topic for a long time but he has done so now because feeling against foreign aid programs in general and Russian aid in particular is becoming more and more marked on Capitol Hill. Black congressmen are particularly active in this respect—they have clearly indicated that if Clinton does not accommodate their demands, primarily as regards the socioeconomic position of U.S. ethnic minorities, the President will have difficulties with his attempts to push his requests for foreign economic aid through.

I would remind you that, according to Washington's pledges when the G-7 foreign and finance ministers met in April, the United States is to allocate Russia around $1.8 billion. That is in addition to the $1.6 billion that we were promised during the Vancouver summit meeting. But whereas the Vancouver money has already been approved by Congress, the Tokyo billions have to get through Capitol Hill.

Congress is currently discussing the administration's plans. The amendments to the foreign aid bill include one demanding that the Russian aid package be cut by $704 million. The authors and supporters of the amendment—Republicans and Democrats—justify their stance in fairly simple terms: According to Jim Traficant, a Democrat from Ohio, he "cannot grasp how you can spend money paying your neighbor's rent when your own house is about to be repossessed for nonpayment of debts." "The United States cannot," Republican Gerald Solomon from New York added, "afford to remain the whole world's kind, rich uncle."

However, whereas there are plenty of people in the Congress who oppose aid in general, there are not that many opposed to aid to Russia. The main point is that the congressional leadership—both Democrat and Republican—sympathizes with the stance espoused by President Clinton, who remarked Wednesday when speaking to reporters: "If democracy in Russia is set back, that would be a bad thing for the United States."

Northern Fleet Ship Departs for Canada, U.S.

OW2106150193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 16 Jun 93

[V. Anuchin report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] The missile cruiser Marshal Ustinov left today for an official visit to Canada and the United States. Before it left on its distant voyage, our film crew went on board for a trip into the Barents Sea combat training area. The flagship of the Northern Fleet had not been to sea for almost eight months, one of the reasons being that the ship is already seven years old and required preventative maintenance. Also, the fuel situation is not too good within the fleet. But the main problem... [video cuts to show Anuchin on the bridge interviewing Captain Second Rank S.I. Avakyants]

[Begin recording] [Avakyants, continuing sentence] ...concerns material and technical supplies, a problem related to a great extent—and you probably have been told this repeatedly—to the disintegration of the old state.

[Anuchin] This has affected today's voyage?

[Avakyants] It has affected today's voyage and is the reason why the ship could not go to sea for a long time. This was chiefly due to technical reasons. Technical reserves had to be found to repair equipment, new agreements had to be concluded with new enterprises, and contacts had to be initiated with various regions to obtain service. All of this required time. [end recording]

All of this has effected the ship. One of the engines broke down at sea, and it took several hours to repair. Artillery practice, implementation of tasks, and the search for and surveillance of a submarine drew unfavorable criticism from staff officers who were on this voyage. [video shows interview with Rear Admiral D.B. Stefanov, chief navigator of the Northern Fleet]

[Begin Stefanov recording] Young sailors presently make up the majority here. If you take into consideration their very brief time in service and the low level of training the young men receive, you can see why we are forced to get those specialists we now have when we go to sea. So our main task—at the first stage at any rate, on the first day—is at least to regularize the organization of service and define the elementary rules, and work on those issues that will permit the safe and qualitative fulfillment of tasks. [end recording]

Yes, the crew is young and inexperienced. But the traditions that were established by the officers under the first commander and the love for their ship are continuing today. Eventually this permitted them to fulfill their set tasks.

I was told at headquarters that the solution of the fleet's problems lay first in stabilizing the situation and determining the role of the armed forces and the fleet in the

overall state system. Financing, full complements of personnel, the delivery of new ships, improvements in the infrastructure and supply, and other issues will follow. Eventually, if all this is solved, Russia will possess a fleet capable of fulfilling all its set tasks.

Summit Accords Bring Treaty With Kiev Closer

PM2106130193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Vladimir Maryukha report: "Russian Ships Will Be Based in Sevastopol and Other Ukrainian Ports—Although the Black Sea 'Divorce' Will Take Place Hopes Have Risen That It Will Be Civilized"]

[Text] The one-day talks between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia, held in an atmosphere of the utmost privacy which in itself testifies to their sensitivity, culminated in "breakthrough decisions." Such was the evaluation given to them by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and it is hard to disagree with him. This is why.

On the one hand, it would have been strange if Ukraine had not made concessions in the question of dividing up the Black Sea Fleet. President Kravchuk was pushed into this by the mood of the inhabitants of the Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet sailors themselves, the political instability in Ukraine, and the fuel question, which is directly pegged to the future of the Black Sea Fleet. On the other hand, Russia's consent to start dividing up the fleet and forming on its basis the Russian Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Navy as early as September (Russia's former stance stipulated no earlier than 1995) seems no less strange than possible intransigence on Ukraine's part. But the fact that the decisions made can be regarded as a breakthrough is because the sides, having agreed to a "divorce" de jure, have recognized that Russia and Ukraine have shared southern borders and concluded that it is inevitable and necessary to coordinate tasks in the Black Sea to protect the common interests of security and stability. And moreover, supplies of Russian oil to Ukraine are no longer pegged to the problems of the Black Sea Fleet, and Sevastopol and other naval bases are to be transferred under a separate agreement to the joint usage of the two republics.

Admittedly, it is not clear yet how all of this will look in practice. Nowhere in the agreement on the fleet is the word "lease" mentioned, and world practice knows no other method for basing your own ships in other states. And the actual division of the Black Sea Fleet on a 50-50 basis is highly problematical in respect of coastline infrastructure. It is no coincidence that the former stance of Ukraine and its Defense Ministry did indeed insist on handing over all watercraft while retaining the bases and logistic support for itself. However, the fact that Leonid Kravchuk has recognized—all but for the first time—that the southern borders are shared with Russia and that the sides agreed in their opinions on naval tasks in the Black Sea, affords hope for the preservation of some degree of nominal cohesion for the Black Sea Fleet until 1995 at least. Especially as the powers bestowed on Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin by Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin remain in force for this period .

Following the ratification of the agreement on the fleet, an interstate Russian-Ukraine commission is expected to begin the practical sharing out of the Black Sea Fleet. But first the question of social and legal guarantees for Russian Black Sea Fleet servicemen and civilian personnel must be resolved. Despite the participation in the talks of Crimean parliament head Nikolay Bagrov, the question of the status of Sevastopol and the dual citizenship of the Crimea's inhabitants and servicemen, on which sociopolitical movements of the Crimea and Sevastopol have insisted, was not examined at the presidents' meeting.

At the same time, uniform norms on monetary allowances for the Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Navy and on equal participation in financing the fleet for the transitional period are being established. The Russian side will participate in developing the infrastructure of naval bases for its forces, and Crimean enterprises will retain the status of fleet technical bases.

In other words, the competition between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet has moved appreciably away from mutual recriminations toward a division of Black Sea Fleet property in such a way as to allow for the subsequent resolution of common tasks with its help. A specific mechanism for implementing this decision has yet to be elaborated, and as such it is still too early to assess how things will balance out in the future of the Black Sea Fleet after these talks.

However, it is worth noting that the neighboring republic leaders also found compromises and points of contact on a number of other points where there were differences of opinion, and these are reflected in the joint communique. According to Leonid Kravchuk, the questions of the strategic arms located in Ukraine and also the former USSR's debts have been "resolved in principle." Boris Yeltsin has confirmed Russia's readiness to give Ukraine security guarantees pending the ratification by its parliament of the START I Treaty and its accession to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. To all intents and purposes, these and other agreements reflected in the communique signify that the work to sign an all-embracing treaty between Russia and Ukraine has entered the homestretch.

Admiral Links Black Sea Fleet Accord to Crimea

PM2106131393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Vice Admiral Kazimir Stalbo: Talk of Dividing Fleet Is Meaningless Until Crimea Question Has Been Resolved"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk have agreed to carry out the accelerated formation of a Russian naval fleet and a Ukrainian navy on the basis of the former USSR's Black Sea Fleet and the basing of the Russian naval fleet in Sevastopol and at other points in Ukraine, the communique on the meeting of the Russian and Ukrainian presidents points out.

This document states that both fleets will fulfill coordinated tasks in defense of common interests of security and stability. Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, on whom the Russian president recently conferred the rank of "admiral," has been entrusted with implementing the corresponding accords.

Here is how the results of the two presidents' talks are commented on by Dr. of Naval Sciences Professor Vice Admiral Kazimir Andreyevich Stalbo, holder of the Russian State Prize, who fought in the Black Sea Fleet during the Great Patriotic War years and subsequently headed the fleet's operational directorate in Sevastopol:

"On the eve of the presidents' talks I sent Boris Nikolayevich a memorandum pointing out that it would be wrong to examine the question of Sevastopol in isolation from Crimea. Secondary forces are based in Sevastopol—a unit of surface ships and just a few submarines. But the main forces, which determine the might of the Black Sea Fleet, are, above all, its aircraft, which are based in the regions of Simferopol, Yevpatoriya, Saki, Dzhankoy, Kacha, and Feodosiya. In addition, the fleet uses Donuzlav, Feodosiya, and Kerch as bases. Dozens of ship-repair plants, workshops, weapons and hardware depots, ranges, hospitals, and military camps are located on the territory of Crimea, not Sevastopol.

"Judging by the text of the communique, these factors were taken into account during the talks. In my view, however, no decisions on dividing the fleet have any practical meaning until the question of Crimea has been resolved. To start talks with President Kravchuk on dividing the fleet, following the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's decision on the unlawful and unconstitutional nature of the act of wresting Crimea from Russia and transferring it to Ukraine, means tacitly agreeing to the existing status quo with regard to the Crimean problem—which is totally inadmissible, particularly in the present situation.

"Today, under conditions of a democratic state, hardly anyone has the right to decide so unceremoniously the fate of the people who serve on the fleet's ships. Surprise is also caused by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's statement that the fleet will now be guaranteed continuous work. I have served more than 60 years in the Navy and have not heard of a problem of the fleet's continuous working.

"Our leadership has held a lot of talks recently in the former republics of the USSR, which have become hot spots today—talks which have not produced a result. The talks on the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, which have just ended, can also be considered equally fruitless."

Churkin Warns Estonia on New Foreigners Law

LD2106153793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1419 GMT on 21 June broadcasts a nine-minute report by a Mayak "Panorama" correspondent about the law on foreigners passed today by the Estonian parliament. After summarizing the effects of the new law on those who are not citizens of Estonia, the correspondent telephones Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin for his opinion.

Churkin says Russia has been lobbying the international community to pressure Estonia, but now has to study the final version of the law in detail to see if some of the more extreme provisions have been excised, as promised. He says: Russia views this law as a grave violation of human rights. "We intend to react very seriously to this new move by the Estonian authorities."

Churkin recalls other measures that have affected Russians in Estonia, for example a recent law banning noncitizens from being elected to local authorities.

Churkin then says: "The situation in Estonia and the actions of the Estonian authorities are a source of great concern to us. The fact is that their deeds are at variance from their words, the words they gave us and are still giving in our frequent meetings as regards their intentions. Their actions are at variance from contemporary standards of civilized conduct, with the high standards of the CSCE and of the Council of Europe, to which Estonia was recently admitted, despite our serious objections. Incidentally, what is now happening once again demonstrates that this decision by the Council of Europe was erroneous and that Russia was correct to warn against it and voice concern that the Estonian authorities would regard this as carte blanche to do anything they want against our Russian community. Russo-Estonian relations are clearly worsening. We are now preparing a package of serious diplomatic and political—and possibly not just political—measures against Estonia."

Churkin says Russian Foreign Ministry representatives will soon remonstrate with the Estonians and that Russia's relations with Estonia will now have to be reconsidered across the board.

Russia is trying to use civilized and democratic means of resolving these differences, Churkin continues, despite calls for a tough line. "Any move toward extremism by Russia could lead to consequences which would harm first and foremost the very people we are trying to protect, so we will of course try to avoid such extremes. At the same time, we will do everything required to ensure that Russians are respected in the Baltic states and that Russia is respected, because in this particular case not only are people's rights being infringed, but

Russia's legitimate interests and legitimate concerns are being ignored, as is the Russian leadership's sincere desire to conduct normal and well-intentioned talks with the Estonians. I think that a country and a power such as Russia should not allow itself to be treated in this way."

Government Denies Sending Arms to Azerbaijan

LD2106144893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Excerpts] The Russian Defense Ministry has no information regarding the transfer of a large consignment of equipment and munitions from Russia to Azerbaijan, RIA has been told by the Defense Ministry's press service.

The statement comes after the Russian National Union, headed by Russian people's deputy Sergey Baburin, today claimed that arms transfers have taken place, for the purpose of attacks against Colonel Guseynov's units. [passage omitted]

I do not know where Sergey Baburin got this information, but it has been immediately denied. In cases like this we can only guess as to the veracity of the original information. Rather, not its veracity but the reason for leaking it.

Shoygu Praises Those Involved in Abkhazian Aid Mission

LD2106191493 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations [SCES], held a news conference on Monday [21 June] about the completion of the operation to provide aid to the inhabitants of Abkhazia. At Sochi airport, before flying to Moscow, Shoygu said that officials of the Committee had fulfilled all their obligations for supplying consignments of humanitarian aid to Tkvarcheli, Sukhumi, and Gagra and had tried to evacuate the maximum number of women, elderly people, and children from the conflict zone. He noted that there were still people in Tkvarcheli who wanted to leave; however, the convoy could not make another trip since several bridges in the area between Tkvarcheli and Ochamchira were blown up after the vehicles had passed through. Shoygu praised the work of the SCES officials and all those who had been involved in carrying out the task they had been given.

Hungarian President Goncz Continues Visit

Comments on European-Russian Ties

LD2106183193 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 21 (MTI)—Hungary seeks to develop ties with its eastern neighbours as well, said Hungarian President Arpad Goncz at an international press conference opening a two-week tour in Russia on Monday.

Goncz stressed that Central European Hungary may become an ideal springboard towards both Western and Eastern Europe. Russia, he said, may be a promising market for Hungarian products, for which it is difficult to enter Western markets these days.

Goncz reminded it was a common interest of Budapest and Moscow that the status of ethnic minorities outside the borders be settled according to international standards.

Speaking about Russia's international status, Goncz said he was convinced Russia would be able to occupy its due place in the world in a decade. Russia has been and will be a superpower, he said.

He hoped Moscow, as a friend of Serbia, will play an important part in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, helping Europe to end the war.

To a question about ties with Finno-Ugric nations in the Russian Federation, he said, in his view, the most important goal was that Russia, going towards democracy, should be generous in ensuring original inhabitants the opportunity for self-assertion.

Goncz conferred honours upon one-time Leningrad students who in 1956 spoke out against the crackdown on Hungary's revolution and spent long years in prison for that.

Holds News Conference

LD2206065993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0621 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeev]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—President Arpad Goncz of Hungary, who is currently on a working visit to Russia, flies off on Tuesday to the republic of Komi in the Russian north-west. The republic's capital Syktyvkar is to be the first point in his tour of Russia's constituent republics belonging to the Ugro-Finnic language group.

Addressing a news conference in Moscow on Monday, the president said Hungary was seeking to develop economic ties with Russia, to which it attaches special importance, since after the breakup of the Soviet Union the two countries did not sever their economic links.

Commenting on the current situation in Europe, Goncz emphasised the importance of setting up a collective security system and settling the Yugoslav crisis. He believes that Russia, with its status of great power, may play a decisive role in stopping the fratricidal war in former Yugoslavia. When asked whether Hungary was going to join the NATO bloc, the president said it did not plan to do this in the near future.

After touring Russia's republics and provinces, the Hungarian head of state is to return to Moscow, where he is scheduled to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin on July 4.

Begins Visit to Komi

LD2206100193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0918 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar June 22 TASS—President Arpad Goncz of Hungary arrived on Tuesday in the Republic of Komi in the Russian north-west for a working visit.

During a welcoming ceremony, the Russian, Hungarian and Komi flags were hoisted at the Syktyvkar airport. The visit began with the Hungarian president's tour of the Komi capital.

The Republic of Komi is the first of Russia's constituent republics to be visited by Goncz with an aim to enhance all-round cooperation with Russia and its provinces, above all with those inhabited by Ugro-Finnic peoples related to the Hungarians.

The present tour by President Goncz is expected to promote implementation of the programme of cooperation between Ugro-Finnic peoples, which was outlined at the first world congress of those peoples held in Syktyvkar last December.

Slovene Ambassador Comments on 'Fruitful' Ties

LD2106195493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1928 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Malinov]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS— "I am sure that relations between Slovenia and Russia are very fruitful and constructive. The Russian Federation is the first country which recognised the independence of Slovenia and established diplomatic relations. We pay an important significance to the development of multilateral relations with Russia," ambassador of Slovenia to Moscow Sasa Ivan Gerzina told a solemn ceremony of the Society of Friends of Slovenia "Triglav" dedicated to the forthcoming Slovenian national holiday - the Day of Independence. The society "Triglav" formed by businessmen, professors, journalists, officials of the Foreign Ministry and other departments of Russia, is aimed at contributing to the development of contacts between Russian and Slovenian enterprises, banks and high schools.

The ambassador noted that deputy chairman of the Slovenian government, Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle arrived on Tuesday in Moscow. He headed the state delegation of Slovenia. He is expected to meet with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, hold negotiations on the most important issues of political and economic cooperation between the two countries. In July a delegation of Russian bankers and businessmen is to visit Ljubljana. The Russian delegation will take part in the Days of Russia in Slovenia. In autumn Slovenian President Milan Kucan is expected to arrive in Moscow at the invitation of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The two presidents are to sign an agreement on bilateral cooperation.

Speaking about the Yugoslavian crisis Gerzina stressed that Slovenia supports proposals to settle the military conflict in Yugoslavia by peaceful means. Twenty-seven countries, including Russia, supported the initiative of Ljubljana on the creation of "safety zones" in this republic.

"We support the Vance-Owen plan and the joint programme of five western countries, including Russia, aimed at settling the Bosnian crisis. We suppose that the influence of Russia on the world policy can lead to the eleboration of effective decisions which will contribute to the cessation of military actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina," the ambassador said.

Prospects for Trade Development With PRC Viewed

LD2106162493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing June 21 TASS—Russia considers the problem of mutual convertability of the rouble and the yuan one of the "critical issues" in trade relations with China, much of which depends on the further development of bilateral economic relations, including the setting up of joint economic zones along the common border between the two countries, First Russian Vice Prime Minister of Economics Ivan Materov said at the fourth international trade fair in Harbin where he arrived at the head of a Russian business delegation.

Thanks to a growing interest of the Chinese partners in production of the Russian machine-building industry, there is generally a favourable situation in trade with China, the high-ranking Russian Ministry of Economics representative said. According to him, the growth in exports of this very production, including equipment for capital repairs of enterprises built in China with the technical and economic participation of specialists from the former Soviet Union, can become a trump card of Russia.

According to statistics, the number of such facilities in China is no less than one hundred. But two factors are hampering the development of events according to this scenario: The acute shortage of hard currency, both in Russia, as well as in China, and also the prevalence of barter deals which often prevent the enhancement of economic contacts.

The volume of border commodity exchange between China and Russia together with trade through direct

channels, at present comes to 80 percent of the whole bilateral barter. It had exceeded 5 million U.S. dollars in 1992.

It has become known that not having come to an agreement for the time being about the convertibility of their national currencies, both sides, nevertheless, are discussing another important project—the formation of joint economic zones of development.

Chinese experts, for instance, are suggesting a "continuous strip of cooperation" along the Amur river from Mongolia to Vladivostok. But Russian representatives conceive this on a smaller scale. They favour opening separate clusters of common market of free trade with the working out of compulsory identical legislation for the border zone in China, as well as in Russia.

Chinese Border Talks Reviewed

LD2206084893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0819 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Vyacheslav Tomilin]

[Text] Beijing June 22 TASS—The first meeting between Russian and Chinese experts to discuss a draft agreement on the regime of the Russo-Chinese border was held in Beijing between June 12-21. The meeting took place in the framework of the process of a general settlement of border issues, which began between the former Soviet Union and China in 1987.

The sides exchanged draft agreements, pointing out that their views coincide on the majority of issues pertaining to the border regulations.

"We are ready for the soonest signing of the document on the regime on the Russo-Chinese border, which meets our mutual interests," Yuriy Neshumov, an official of the Russian border troops, told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday.

"The demarcation of the Russo-Chinese border has been carried out since the spring of 1993, with over 1,000 people involved from the Russian side," Neshumov said. In his opinion, the operation will take no less than 3-4 years, taking into account that the length of the border is over 4,000 kilometers. Another problem is signing an agreement on the border regime, he said.

He pointed out that in general, Russian and Chinese border guards maintain friendly contacts. At the same time, the process of stepping up and expanding economic contacts on the border is being hampered by violations of the border regime, including attempts to carry out smuggling operations, poaching and some other offenses, which are thoroughly discussed by both sides.

The signing of the agreement will enable to create a legal basis for the activities of border guard authorities, ensure a stable order on the border which will favourably affect the process of Russo-Chinese multilateral cooperation.

Russian General Admits to Soviet Aid in Korean War

SK2206100193 Seoul YONHAP in English 0854 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 22 (YONHAP)—Stalin committed a Soviet task force to the Korean war in 1950 to save the North from defeat, a Russian army general said on Tuesday [22 June].

Gen. Dmitriy Volkognov, military adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, told YONHAP in an exclusive interview that the Soviet task force, which comprised two air force divisions and two anti-aircraft artillery divisions, stayed in Korea until the armistice in 1953.

On Oct. 1, 1950, North Korean leader Kim Il-song sent Stalin an urgent cable, asking for an immediate Soviet military commitment or, if this were impossible, the dispatch of a joint socialist force to Korea, according to the general.

The 43rd anniversary of the Korean war is on Friday.

Stalin, fearing war with the United States, responded to Kim's request in two ways: One was with arms and equipment to rebuild the North Korean Army and the other was to dispatch the Soviet task force, whose elements were camouflaged as North Korean or Chinese forces.

The two air force divisions, located in Dandong on the Chinese side of the Yalu River, were camouflaged as North Korean units and their pilots communicated in Korean with each other when on sorties over Korea.

The two anti-aircraft divisions, deployed at key bases in North Korea, including major command posts of the North Korean Army, went as Chinese People's Army units.

Volkognov's remarks may draw attention from historians as he is the first Russian military official to testify about the Soviet military commitment to the Korean war.

Neither the former Soviet Union nor Russia has officially admitted any Soviet military participation in the conflict.

Volkognov said North Korea had started armistice negotiations on the orders of Stalin.

When the tide of war moved in favor of North Korea with the participation of the Chinese Army, there was a rumor of the U.S. Forces in Korea using atomic weapons.

He quoted Stalin as saying that "we shouldn't leave America losing the war" and then ordering Foreign Minister Andrey Vyshinsky to start armistice negotiations.

The general said that Stalin, recognizing the U.S. nuclear supremacy over the Soviet Union, had been most worried about the U.S. use of nuclear weapons as it would result in a crushing defeat of himself and the Soviet Union.

Algerian Naval Forces Visit St. Petersburg

LD2106212693 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] In a consolidation of bilateral cooperation and relations, and in order to bolster joint cooperation between Algerian and Russian Navy units, Algerian naval forces anchored at St. Petersburg harbor this morning. Among them were the landing ship Kalaat Beni Hammad and the submarine Rais Hadj M'barek. This visit also falls within the framework of consolidating the bonds of the traditional friendship between the Algerian and the Russian Navies.

British Paratroop Officers Begin Official Visit

PM2206084993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the general headline: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A military delegation from Great Britain led by Brigadier General Dzh.T. Kholmson [name as transliterated] has arrived in Russia on an official visit.

The delegation was received by Colonel General Yevgeniy Podkolzin, commander of the Russian Federation Airborne Troops. Plans for military cooperation between Russian and British paratroopers were discussed.

The guests visited the Ryazan Higher Airborne Command School, where they studied the system for training and educating officers of the Airborne Troops. At the training center, they attended technical, airborne assault, tactical, and physical training exercises, and made parachute jumps.

Hardening of IMF Stance on Credit Pondered

PM2106134393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 7

[Yuriy Glukhov article: "No Confidence"]

[Text] The other day the IMF deferred a decision granting aid to Russia—until better times.

It is unclear as yet, REUTER observes, what prompted IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus to adopt such a tough stance. In the opinion of many experts, he wants to avoid the situation which developed last year when the IMF allocated Russia $1 billion for financial stabilization and inflation was not checked but rather increased considerably. Thus, one motive for the IMF stance is insufficiently energetic action by the Russian leadership to stabilize the economy.

Judging by the sepulchral silence reigning in the Kremlin and the lack of official response, they are in a state of shock there. And with cause.

The Western aid has already been widely publicized by the Russian authorities. The plans to join the "civilized world" and overcome the crisis are linked to it. Its arrival by the start of June looked a sure thing. Previously Gaydar and today Fedorov, Shokhin, and Kozyrev have been constantly abroad seeking credits. But the end result is zero. The question arises: Is there a set of muddleheaded individuals in charge of Russia's foreign economic and foreign policy or is there a deliberate attempt under way to discredit politicians of the new orientation.

After all, the total sum we were to receive in the initial period was picayune, given the size of our country—$1.5 billion altogether.

What is most insulting is that this blow below the belt came at the very moment when the Russian leadership had fully opened itself up to embrace the West. Quite a few political concessions were made in exchange for promises of credits that were pretty restricted and by no means given way.

The Russian president hurriedly set about "desovietizing" the country by tailoring a new constitution. The opposition was shown the "iron fist."

At the IMF's demand the Government and the Central Bank of Russia issued a joint statement giving assurances that the level of inflation would be sharply reduced by the end of the year.

This incident will probably be closed by the start of the next G-7 meeting. It will take place in Tokyo 7-9 July, and the Russian president has been invited to it. "I hope that we will find the first $1.5 billion," U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, "disappointed" by the IMF decision, reassured the Kremlin.

That most likely will be so, but that's not the problem. A Western strategy is shaping up toward Russia, an intention to keep it on starvation rations in economic terms.

The toughness demonstrated by the IMF is becoming the norm. Even Washington's recent proposal to participate in the "smash and grab" ["prikhvatizatsiya"] by creating a $4-billion fund to meet the needs of privatization in Russia has produced objections from the Europeans and the Japanese. Tokyo is preparing a compromise version which envisages a significant reduction in the aforementioned sum.

As recommended by the influential British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, "The West should not take specific practical steps to aid Russia. It is essential to confine support to words. The unstable balance of power between President Yeltsin and his opponents casts doubt on his government's ability to pursue the course of reforms consistently in the event of Western aid being received."

The virtual vote of no confidence in the Russian leadership by Western financial circles is already being felt. The West has decided not to give preference to Russia compared with other former Soviet republics.

Japanese Foreign Minister K. Muto has stated that "the situation in Russia is complex," and that "the Russian president's visit to Japan in the fall is problematical" in that regard.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had hardly reported in Athens that Bill Clinton would hold yet another meeting with Boris Yeltsin this year before Washington backpedaled. What came was a clarification by an official White House representative that a meeting "is planned neither for this year nor for next year."

"Yeltsin is not alone in feeling the ground shaking beneath him. The chaos in Russia has changed the world for Clinton, too, whatever the outcome of the power struggle in Moscow"—such is the opinion of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the publication of American business circles.

Impracticable constitutional and reformist schemes are still being ineffectually discussed in Moscow. While the Western business world, in resorting to obstructions, is already giving the first signal to the Russian leader. A signal, as was the case with Gorbachev, about withdrawing from the political arena.

Skyjacker Facing Extradition to Russia Interviewed

PM2106151793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Marat Zubko report: "I Would Prefer To Serve My Sentence in Russia, Skyjacker T. Musayev Tells IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] Stockholm—"The Swedish Government's decision to expel us to Russia came as a real shock to my wife and myself. We were not expecting such an outcome," your correspondent was told by Tamerlan Musayev from Baku, who hijacked a Tu-134 passenger aircraft to Sweden 20 February and is now in a detention center in Stockholm.

Lars-Ake Petersson, head of the criminal police department, allowed us to talk over the telephone.

To be honest, I was expecting a nervous conversation, for I thought the hijacker would shout and almost writhe in hysterics. But I was mistaken—over the telephone I heard a quite calm voice and sensible arguments. He gave the following reply to my question "What were you and your wife hoping to achieve, for the Swedes have expelled air terrorists before?":

"Every crime is of a special nature, and we were hoping that the Swedes would investigate our case in detail. Sometimes even killers are acquitted... Our attorney helped us, but not as vigorously as his colleagues in U.S. movies do..."

"What has happened to your wife? Why has she ended up in the hospital?"

"When she heard of the Swedish Government's decision, she tried to cut her wrists. With what? I do not know exactly, as we were in different cells, but with some object, I have been told. Some time later I was allowed to speak with her, and I know that physically she feels quite well. But not all is well with her head and nerves. Marina has had a hard time, for her whole family is dead—mother, father, and two brothers. She had fits at home, and then four months in the detention center here, plus such news..."

T. Musayev said that they wanted to get to the United States, but not necessarily just to that country. The chief thing, according to him, was to escape from Azerbaijan and end up in a democratic Western state. It could be Canada, Britain, or France. Finding themselves in Sweden, the Musayevs asked the authorities to grant them political asylum, but this was only one week later, when "it was explained to them that they could do this."

The hijacker also told me that he had sent a telegram to Russian President B. Yeltsin asking the Russian authorities not to insist on the expulsion from Sweden of their daughter, who is now just 11 months old. If he and his wife have to serve their sentence, the baby will inevitably end up in a children's home, while here in Sweden there are people who are prepared to have the girl in their own family.

"Russia is demanding our extradition because we hijacked an aircraft, but what is the point of this?" my interlocutor inquired.

If it so happens that the court decides on punishment for the crime committed, where would you prefer to serve your sentence—in Russia or Azerbaijan?

"I would choose Russia. I fled Azerbaijan because I was opposed to the policy of the Azerbaijani authorities. Although I know that things will be hard for me with criminals in a Russian jail cell, because I am not Russian. That is what I am afraid of..."

Spread of Russian Criminal Activity to West Noted

PM2206100993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 3

[S. Turchenko report: "West Requests Aid. Russian 'Mafiosi' Becoming Firmly Established in Europe"]

[Text] The West has finally started tasting the bitter fruits of the reforms in Russia they are so ardently supporting. Having grown fat on the dismembered Russian expanses, a mass of particularly zealous domestic supporters of Yeltsin's reforms have rushed there—

criminal businessmen, racketeers, and other gentlemen of success. The situation is developing in such a way that many foreigners are now gaining personal experience of the truth of the Russian proverb: He that mischief hatches, mischief catches.

Germany is reeling. In the past year it has absorbed over 500,000 former USSR citizens, 300,000 of whom do not have identity documents. They are a fertile breeding ground for the criminal world.

Italy, which has become skilled in the field of fighting the Mafia, is observing the rapid merging of local organized crime with Russian. The resulting hybrid is so unpredictable that Inspector Cattani [fictional television detective] does not have enough previous experience to fight it effectively. Recently, the Italian public, which was apparently not capable of being surprised by anything, was indeed shocked by the sensational reports in the press. For several months a joint Russian-Italian underground printing press "producing" U.S. dollars was, as they say, very quietly working under the police's nose. They managed to produce a total of 11 billion of them. The Russian Federation Security Ministry seized one of these billions from criminals in Moscow. By chemical ink analysis our security officers ascertained the place where the dollars were manufactured with a high degree of accuracy and shared the information with the Italian special services.

Even across the ocean they are already starting to quiver at the mention of a Russian assault force of "businessmen" introducing "our" form of market relations in the United States. Recently the governor of a U.S. state chosen by the marketeers from Petersburg begged Sobchak: Either send your own detective officers or organize training for my police officers in Russia, because Russian "businessmen" are operating in a very untraditional way.

These and many other similar cases were cited at a recent meeting between journalists and representatives of the Russian Security Ministry leadership. Generals Vladimir Bondarenko and Andrey Chernenko talked about the Russian Federation Security Minister's trip to Germany which had ended the previous day. During it, a Joint Statement on Cooperation in the Sphere of Combating Organized Crime, the Drugs Mafia, the Illegal Weapons Trade, etc. was signed.

It was stressed at a meeting in the Russian Federation Security Ministry that the security officers are ready for such cooperation. And not only with Germany. But...

The problem of extraditing criminals has still not been solved. There are no agreements about this with a number of countries. Without them our special services do not have the right to arrest even the most hardened Russian criminal on a foreign state's territory.

Another problem is the long delay, going back to Gorbachev's time, in adopting basic laws ensuring the protection of the state sector.

"Laws protecting an owner, a businessman," Gen. Chernenko said, "are for some reason being adopted in record short time in our country (on private detective agencies, on weapons, and others) while those which should protect the state from being robbed (on corruption, on state service) are on the back burner. As a result any entrepreneur, even a criminal one, is often protected more than an official defending state interests.

There was also discussion of external problems associated with cooperation between our and Western special services. The main one concerns the West's carefully concealed confrontation in relation to our country. On the one hand, there are requests for aid in fighting organized crime. On the other, there is the continuing mass recruitment of Russian citizens by foreign special services. With such "cooperation" the West can hardly expect comprehensive aid from the Russian special services. It would do our foreign "comrades" good to learn another Russian proverb: "As you sow, so shall you reap."

Constitution Issues

Yeltsin Wants Basic Law Final Draft Completed

LD2106165293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] INTERFAX reports that the Russian president has instructed the Coordinating Commission of the Constitutional Conference to prepare the full final draft of the Basic Law of the Russian Federation today. According to Marina Salye, a member of the commission, debate is being conducted in a fairly constructive manner, despite the fact that some questions are provoking stormy discussion, particularly the question of the president's right to dissolve parliament. Marina Salye said that the opinion is that the final draft—taking into account the amendments—will be prepared today. Even so, the deputy said, everything will be decided by the time the plenary session is held on 26 June.

Shumeyko, Others Comment on Constitution Issue

PM2106125593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Constitutional Conference" rubric: "Opinions"]

[Text] First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko

All the changes which have taken place in Russia's life, V. Shumeyko said, are associated with the name of the Congress of People's Deputies. The Congress gave the Declaration of Russian Sovereignty its full backing in adopting it, introduced presidential authority, and adopted draft laws on the transition to economic and political reforms. However, unfortunately the selfsame Congress is now taking a different stance. In Shumeyko's opinion, the deputies still have a historic chance to go down in history as a progressive institution. To do this it must adopt the constitution in entirety, Shumeyko stressed.

Tatarstan President Mintimar Shaymiyev

M. Shaymiyev stated that "the most important questions have been avoided" in the statement adopted Wednesday [16 June] by participants in the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference. He stressed that the conference participants had not yet elaborated a common viewpoint on what kind of parliament there should be, on the status of republics, oblasts, and krays, and on the correlation between organs of the representative and executive branches. "This means that there is no clarity on the most basic questions, not to mention on how to adopt a new constitution," Shaymiyev stressed. "The Congress exists, and it must not be written off."

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray

Sergey Shakhray, coordinator of the group of representatives of Federation components at the Constitutional Conference, presented the version of the draft constitution adopted by his group. According to this version, the Federation Treaty is part of the constitution. The Russian Federation parliament consists of two chambers—the Federation Council and the State Duma—and each Federation component sends two representatives to the upper chamber. In a transitional period leaders of Federation components will be these representatives. According to Shakhray, this is done so that those who adopt laws implement them. Laws will come into force after they have been adopted by the State Duma and if the Federation Council has not objected to them within a three-month period. The supremacy of all federal laws over others is envisaged.

Yarov Cited on Draft Constitution Discussions

PM2106143193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Roza Sergaziyeva report under "Constitutional Conference" rubric: "Ten Days for Agreement. The Constitutional Conference Enters the Second Phase of Its Work"]

[Text] The major burden of this phase of work lies on the shoulders of three commissions: two coordinating commissions and one working commission. Experts of the working commission have until 25 June to incorporate all the amendments adopted by sections into the draft constitution. Participants in the coordinating commissions are due to discuss the question of the mechanism for adopting the new constitution and elections to the new Russian legislative organ. In addition, sessions in the three sections where the discussions have not yet been wound up will continue until 19 June.

The group of local self-government representatives in the Constitutional Conference has completely finished work on the draft constitution. ROSSIYSKAYA VESTI's correspondent asked Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov, group coordinator, to sum up the group's activity.

In Yuriy Yarov's opinion, the group worked the quickest because, on the one hand, it is the smallest, and on the other, clear procedures were established in its work. First we heard the views on an amendment from its author, then the views of opponents; then the floor was given to an expert, after which the question was put to the vote to determine whether or not to open discussions on it or not. These rigid standing orders enabled all the articles and chapters of the constitution to be studied fairly quickly and thoroughly, without distractions or sidetracking. At the beginning of work the group deliberately did not examine the draft constitution's eighth chapter. This is dedicated to local self-government. When this chapter was reached, a whole three days were allocated to discussion. After this they went through the articles again, in order to see how this eighth chapter agreed with the other chapters of the constitution. Then they sent representatives from the group to other sections, to see how this eighth chapter would look in the amendments of the other groups as well. As a result, Yuriy Yarov

stressed, when the joint work with the other sections is completed, we will have a draft of the eighth chapter which will reflect not only the position of the group of self-government representatives, but the Constitutional Conference as a whole.

We will assemble again 26 June for work by sections. Let us see what happens. A version of the draft constitution will at last be created, ready for its first reading for public discussion. The draft law on elections will also be ready, and participants in the Constitutional Conference will discuss the mechanism for the adoption of the Fundamental Law more constructively.

Constitutional Conference Motives Viewed

PM2106124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. Serebryannikov and Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Bokhovkin: "Country's Constitution and Politicians' Personal Ambitions Are Incompatible"]

[Text] It has already become the rule that if a speech by the president is in the offing you can expect a new social eruption, or at best a new helping of promises to the people which are immediately forgotten. B. Yeltsin has reached extremes which are not permissible for any citizen (never mind the president), declaring without proof that the existing Constitution is "a source of social conflicts," that the soviets are "the antithesis of democracy," and parliament is "a concentration of the reaction."

It has become entirely obvious that the president's Constitutional Conference has been convened to provide window dressing for the formulation of the tough movement of the executive power headed by the president and his entourage toward the establishment of a dictatorship in Russia.

Social consensus can be achieved only by the rapprochement of positions on the basis of constitutional legality. It does not become the president to indulge only the right radical forces, presenting himself as a democrat and thus pushing the left radicals to extremes. In fact it is not the existing Constitution which acts as the source of confrontation in society but the institution of the presidency in its present form. And the main impetus to this, we think, is the president's desire for dictatorship. This desire is based on various reasons: Economic, social, and historical, but perhaps the most important is impatience, the violent acceleration of changes, the desire to concentrate all power in his hands, in brief, a modern version of neobolshevik policy. It was generated by the speculative mafia capital's natural tendency to expand. In addition the fear of responsibility for major failures and misfortunes caused the country by the political executive power is pushing him toward this policy.

The parliament is also to blame for what has happened. It lacks political initiative, consistency, and resolve in implementing its line. Understandably, parliament has always had and does have differences, rivalry between different factions, and diverse viewpoints. But where it is a case of the fate of parliament there should be no place for ambitions, lack of principle, and personal calculation.

Unfortunately recently these negative manifestations have been intensified, taking hold of individual deputies and committee and commission leaders. It is hardly possible to achieve anything through illusory maneuvering with political intrigues who fail to take account of legal and moral norms. The honor and dignity of the people's deputy should be defended more resolutely, but now some parliamentarians do not even respond to cynical and offensive insinuations leveled against them by state officials who have not yet done anything but are already ambitious and who carelessly hurl from the television screens claims similar to that made recently against the Constitutional Commission's responsible secretary: You would only have to include him in the authors' collective of the president's constitution and he would immediately rush to the conference.

In fact by his actions, as chairman of the Constitutional Commission the president left the commission and set himself against it and parliament. Moreover, he has arbitrarily crated a new commission and put forward another draft constitution. All this gives grounds for raising the question of his official removal from his post and the election of a new chairman. Of course, this must be done legally but without delay. Probably parliament should in conjunction with the components of the Federation activate work on the new constitution in order to adopt it by constitutional means in the fall.

As for possible attempts by the president's side to complete this process independently of parliament, then it is probably important for the representational power to make a firm statement that this would be tantamount to a coup d'etat.

Parliament has made a mistake, in fact recognizing the president's right to hold a constitutional conference independently of parliament. That is, it has as it were voluntarily handed over its own functions to the president. This conference cannot be an alternative organ for preparing the constitution.

In all likelihood we must steer a firmer course exclusively toward the consensus method of preparing and adopting the new constitution, the active participants in which should be the parliament and all the country's main political forces.

The possibility is not ruled out that the constitution will have to be adopted at a referendum, with a choice from several options.

In this connection we must think once again about the lessons of the 25 April referendum. During its preparation and holding there is rivalry and competition between various political forces. And in democratic

states equal conditions are created for them, which is the basis of the referendum's constitutionality. Equal opportunities are ensured for the main forces to air their views and positions. If just norms are violated in allocating time for speaking in the mass media, for instance, then a legal warning is issued to the violators and if they continue then the results of the referendum are annulled. That has frequently been the case in Germany, Britain, and other countries. But at our referendum on 25 April 85 percent of the time on the electronic mass media, and in St. Petersburg and Moscow 96 percent of the time, was assigned to supporters of the president. In this connection can the results of the referendum be considered entirely democratic and constitutional? In other countries the courts and the public would have reacted immediately.

It is important to prevent a repetition of this manipulation of public awareness by any one political force at the possible referendum on the constitution.

Do we want another revolutionary eruption or will we finally embark on the path of sensible evolutionary development, adopting all that is best from our own and world experience? To proceed by an evolutionary path we must adopt not a declining constitution but a constitution as a fundamental long-term Fundamental Law which will be worthy of a great country—Russia.

Representatives of Regions Issue Statement

PM2106152993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

["Statement by Leaders of Representative Organs"]

[Text] "We, the leaders of representative organs of power of components of the Federation which participated in the work of the Constitutional Conference of representatives of federal organs of power, organs of power of the components of the Russian Federation, and political and public organizations to formulate proposals on the draft of the new Russian Federation constitution, believe that it has enabled the participants' positions on problems of constitutional reform to be brought closer together in many respects.

"We believe that many constitutional principles and legal norms worked out and formulated at the conference should be included in the new Russian constitution, but the effectiveness of the Constitutional Conference could have been greater at the concluding stage if parity conditions had been created for the work of representatives of the federal organs of power. At the same time we voice confidence that this conference will not be granted legislative or constituent powers.

"Confirming our position on the need to prepare a single agreed text of the draft, we propose setting up a joint working group of representatives of federal organs of power and organs of power of the components of the Federation on parity principles to complete the Constitutional Conference's work on the draft of the Russian Federation constitution.

"We are firmly convinced that:

"1. The constitution should enshrine a provision that Russia is an integral and indivisible federative state consisting of the components of the Federation, whose powers are defined in the Federation Treaty.

"2. Organs of people's power must be preserved in Russia in the form of the soviets of people's deputies.

"3. The draft of the new Russian Federation constitution must be initialed by the Supreme Soviets of the republics within the Russian Federation and by the soviets of people's deputies of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs and, after its approval, be submitted for discussion to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and then for confirmation to the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies.

"This statement is open for signing by all components of the Russian Federation."

As of 17 June, the statement has been signed by 48 leaders of representative organs of power of the components of the Russian Federation which participated in the work of the Constitutional Conference. It has been sent to the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the participants in the Constitutional Conference.

Democrats' Stolypin on Constitutional Conference

PM2206090993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Stolypin, secretary of the Democratic Party of Russia, by Aleksandr Meshkov under the rubric "Our Microphone in the Kremlin"; place and date not given: "President Is 'Behaving Craftily'"]

[Text] Vladimir Stolypin, secretary of the Democratic Party of Russia, who participated in the Constitutional Conference, shared his opinion of its work with us.

[Stolypin] I believe the most complicated issue is the issue of the adoption of the constitution by components of the Federation. The president has to take their opinion into consideration. It was no accident that following the 5 June incident, when some of the leaders of the regions' representative power left the plenary sitting as a sign of protest, B. Yeltsin held a whole series of consultations with heads of administration and chairmen of soviets.

But with time, it has become obvious that in his desire to obtain support for his draft constitution, the president is making concessions to the components of the Federation which cast doubt on the preservation of Russia's territorial integrity or infringe the rights of the State Duma—the chamber of parliament which is elected by the entire

population of the Russian Federation. I would recall that even in the actual presidential draft of the Fundamental Law the most important decisions connected with the interaction of the executive and representative powers are ascribed to the competence of the Soviet of the Federation, but the draft does not point out the mechanism of its formation. The president has described this mechanism in different ways at different times. For example, not so long ago, he proposed to hand over half of the seats in the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly to the national formations, which is unacceptable, to my mind. On 15 June, Yeltsin again met with the leaders of organs of the representative and executive powers of components of the Russian Federation. At this meeting, he made another proposal—to delegate to the Soviet of the Federation two people from every component (the head of administration and the soviet chairman); that is, the upper chamber of parliament will not be elected but appointed. If you take into consideration the fact that the majority of heads of administration are the "president's men," and that the presidential side is furthermore exploiting all possibilities in order to "garner" other deputies, then it is not hard to determine the essence of the future Soviet of the Federation.

Therefore the majority of participants in the political parties and social movements section were forced to return to the articles of the presidential draft of the constitution which determine the role of the two chambers of the Russian parliament. We advocated giving greater authority to the elective organ—the State Duma. However, it is doubtful whether our amendments will dominate when the coordination commission "combines" the five different texts prepared in the sections. The following question is relevant here: "Who are the arbiters?" The aforementioned group (it is officially involved in "working out recommendations on the elaboration of mechanisms for the adoption of a new constitution") is already being formed in such a way that the president's supporters will prevail there.

[Meshkov] So it turns out that the presidential side may have adjusted its tactics, but it is still "behaving craftily"?

[Stolypin] Of course, it has shown some kind of respect to its opponents (for example, O. Rumyantsev was given the floor at the plenary sitting), but it has not given up the intention of adopting, albeit with amendments, "its own" draft of the constitution. As B. Yeltsin's subsequent steps have shown, his utterance to the effect that "the soviets and democracy are incompatible" is no accident. Maybe this should be understood to mean that the president deems representative and executive power to be incompatible?

I too believe that there should be a strong executive power in the transitional period, but not to the detriment of the representative power which supervises it. The principle of the division of powers should be strictly observed.

Volgograd Oblast Soviet Chairman on Conference

PM2106121593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Volgograd Oblast Soviet Chairman A.G. Morozov by Ye. Skukin; place and date not given: "We Will Fight for Rights"]

[Text] Volgograd Oblast Soviet Chairman A. Morozov, participant in the Constitutional Conference, has not signed the statement by 48 leaders of representative organs. The telephone conversation between ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent and Aleksandr Gavriilovich began with a question about his dissenting position.

[Morozov] I dislike the statement's mention of the Federation Treaty. Which one? For there are, in fact, three: with republics, with national okrugs, and with krays and oblasts. Is it necessary to enshrine a legislative inequality?

[Skukin] Briefly about your impressions and the preliminary results of the conference.

[Morozov] They are ambiguous. On the one hand, the president has done a big thing. The question of the regions' equality would not have been raised point-blank without convening the conference. On the other hand, well first, the Constitutional Conference initially examined just the two drafts known to everyone, but now there are, in fact, five.

[Skukin] What do you mean? The communists' draft, some others?

[Morozov] No. It is simply that five commissions worked and formed five versions of proposals on various questions. As a result, the constitutional process has slowed up. Who will bring them all together now? Particularly as further elaboration will take place behind a screen, without our participation.

[Skukin] Who will be on the working commission?

[Morozov] In all, 40 people, but just one representative from the krays and oblasts, four from the republics and national okrugs, and a few people's deputies from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. All the rest are representatives of the executive. Insofar as it is necessary to create parity conditions for the work of representatives of federal organs of both branches of power and the components' organs of power, I fully support the parties to the statement. It is inadmissible for the draft to be finalized by a narrow group of people being dictated to by the president.

[Skukin] What other reason is there for the constitutional process being slowed up?

[Morozov] I am skeptical about all four proposed methods of adopting the new Fundamental Law. For the Congress this is a no-go [neprokhodnoy] question, as the saying goes. It is unrealistic to adopt the constitution

with the help of a referendum. More than 50 percent of the electorate will hardly vote for it, for just 42 percent voted, for example, for the reelection of Russian Federation people's deputies. I believe that it is no coincidence that the president did not mention a referendum at the first plenary session.

[Skukin] On the other hand, there is a lot of talk about a Constituent Assembly.

[Morozov] This road is too long. First the electoral law, then the elections themselves, and finally inexperienced people will start discussing the raw draft. This will take a year.

[Skukin] What about the initialing of the draft by the components of the Federation?

[Morozov] The initialing will not take place unless there is constitutional equality for the oblasts and republics in the draft. In short, you and I have come back to where we started. This is the be-all and end-all for the krays and oblasts. We will fight for our rights.

Volgograd Authorities Playing 'Opposition Games'

PM2106143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Kornev report: "Volgograd Authorities Continue To Play Opposition Games on the Constitutional Playing Field"]

[Text] Volgograd—The Volgograd Oblast Inner Soviet has adopted a decision "On Concretizing the Powers of the Oblast's Representatives at Events To Prepare the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation." What did the Inner Soviet need to "concretize" in such haste on the eve of the final session of the Constitutional Conference and why?

Before examining the text of the decision, let us turn to the report which was promptly dispatched here from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and which Ruslan Khasbulatov delivered at the joint session of the Soviet of the Republic and Soviet of Nationalities 9 June. Here, in the speaker's opinion, is how subsequent events should develop "regardless of the results of the Constitutional Conference's activity": "First of all the draft constitution should be approved by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the republic supreme soviets, sessions of kray and oblast soviets, and sessions of soviets of people's deputies of the autonomous formations—by sessions specifically. So-called initialing by representatives of the components of the Federation should be precluded here."

As we can see, the Volgograd authorities were guided by this program guideline when they unhesitatingly joined in the opposition games on the constitutional playing field. They organized "grass roots" support. True, there is an essential point here: Along with the report the oblast soviet chairman received instructions "from above." The accompanying letter signed by Yuriy Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, says: "We ask you to publish this material in the local press and also to bring it to the attention of the soviets of people's deputies at all levels for use in their work." The speaker's report, as is well known, is permeated by the spirit of confrontation and it is no coincidence that the leadership of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, acting in the best traditions of agitprop, hurried to disseminate it through the local power structures on the eve of the plenary session of the Constitutional Conference, which offers hopes of positive changes.

Let us return to the Volgograd Oblast Soviet Inner Soviet's decision. "The initialing of the text of the draft constitution of the Russian Federation worked on at the Constitutional Conference and its submission in the name of the oblast as a component of the Federation to the Congress of People's Deputies," point one says, "shall take place after examination of the text of the draft constitution at an oblast soviet session." It all corresponds point for point to the program guideline of the speaker, who stressed that the draft should be approved by "sessions specifically."

"The aim is obvious," Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, the president's representative in Volgograd Oblast, commented. "What we are seeing is an attempt to torpedo the results of the Constitutional Conference's work, no matter how constructive they are. It is not hard to imagine what will happen if other soviets follow the speaker's instruction. Ultimately this could not so much delay as wreck the adoption of the new constitution because the disposition of forces that exists in Volgograd exists in many other soviets too."

The Volgograd Oblast Soviet session has adopted a clear-cut decision—to regard the parliamentary draft constitution as fundamental.

Here is another example of contemporary Soviet agitprop—brochures have been sent to the oblast soviet containing reprints of Khasbulatov's articles in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and PRAVDA.

The speaker's appeals have not gone unheeded—not by the people, as the speaker would have liked, it is true, but by the forces of the extreme opposition. Almost simultaneously with the Inner Soviet session, the present Russian Federation Communist Party Oblast Committee and the bloc of patriotic forces were holding what they called the Volgograd constitutional assembly in the very hall where oblast soviet sessions are now held and where previously Communist Party Oblast Committee plenums used to be held. This meeting of the national-communist aktiv adopted a package of documents. The appeal to deputies at all levels says that the ruling regime has embarked on the path of a coup d'etat and thus they are forced to go to the defense of the constitutional

system. The mandate to Volgograd Oblast's representatives at the Constitutional Conference expresses support for the oblast soviet session's decision.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Fighting Crime

LD2206083093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree "On Additional Measures To Ensure Effective Work of Russian Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission for Fighting Crime and Corruption". Earlier the commission was headed by Yeltsin's rebel deputy Aleksandr Rutskoy, but then the president stripped him of the post and chaired the commission himself.

Under the decree, the interdepartmental commission is instructed to take certain measures aimed at organizational ensuring of the struggle against crime, a presidential spokesman reported. Thus, the commission is to work out and submit by October 1, 1993, for the approval of the Security Council a federal programme for boosting fight against crime and corruption in 1994-1995. The commission is also obliged to submit to the Federal Government, before July 1, 1993, its proposals on measures to strengthen law-enforcement agencies and to improve their technical equipment. Furthermore, the interdepartmental commission is to come up with its proposals on legal regulation of citizens' participation in the prevention of offences and maintenance of public order, which are to be submitted for the consideration of the Russian Security Council before August 1, 1993.

The decree also recommends that interdepartmental commissions for fighting crime be set up in localities.

Article Views 'Disappointment' With Yeltsin

PM2106160993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Valentin Logunov: "Disappointment: Emotional Notes in the Margins of Russian Political Life"]

[Excerpts] The very concept of "democrats" has been debased and discredited. At first at the congresses of people's deputies Gorbachev and Lukyanov were unable to pronounce the word without a smirk and the prefix "so-called." It was not democracy that was being impugned here: It, representing the greatest human achievement and Russia's future, received no mockery in public. The blows rained down upon specific exponents of democracy—the "so-called democrats."

Today I consider that we were indeed "so-called democrats." Perhaps Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov alone, thanks to his intellect, conscientiousness, and native wit, understood and deliberately sought to change the state of society without pursuing self-serving ends. As far as the other "so-called democrats"—Yeltsin, Popov, Sobchak, Zaslavskiy, Burbulis, Poltoranin, Starovoytova, and other members of the first wave of transformers of Russia—are concerned; they all (time has shown) simply exploited the political and moral upsurge of the masses of the people and harnessed the democratic movement to themselves. Borne on the crest of a wave, the riders soared aloft and, it seems, are only now beginning to realize that they have been left, as a result of society's having grown up, suspended in mid-air, as it were—in the saddle but without a horse. The steep wave of radicalism is on the downturn and the riders have no choice but to seek to ride down with the wave and there find political oblivion or try to leap across to the neighboring crest of a rising wave. [passage omitted]

As far as Yeltsin himself is concerned, I think that he is playing a subsidiary role in all current policy. He is being used as a battering ram, as a bulldozer to demolish the bastions of the economy and clear away socialist obstacles. Unlike the "Chicago kids" and the numerous American advisers, he has not had a proper education, and talk about special intuition is so much cheap hype. He always was and remains a strong-willed organizer who is capable, for example, of modernizing a plant but in no way capable of modernizing a state of whose principles of construction and development he is scarcely aware. [passage omitted]

Back when Yeltsin had just been "brought" to power, one of his present entourage incautiously remarked: We will hold up this banner only as long as it inspires the people to make changes. It seems that the banner has been pretty well buffeted by the political, economic, and social storms during this time. The banner-bearers are getting ready to grab hold of another banner; they have already agreed on all this among themselves—they are creating a party surreptiously like in that well-known bar [not further identified]. The party is seemingly being created for Yeltsin, to support him in his fight against the soviets, but in actual fact it will be a party of kiosk-owners and political jackals who will complete the ruin of Russia.

What else do the current authorities have to do to ensure that we all absolutely understand that it is time to change them?

Certainly the president and the deputies have to be changed, and the quicker the better. Let new people, people unburdened by the weight of responsibility for deeds past, come forward.

We should start with the election everywhere of heads of administration in krays and oblasts. After their election the heads of administration and the leaders of the republics could act as electors and elect the president out of candidates proposed by the parliament, parties, and public movements.

Perhaps simultaneously or two-three months after, there could be the election of a new bicameral parliament with

prime powers vested in the State Duma (the president being on the "leash" of the components of the Federation, that suffices).

All this needs to be done very, very quickly, as the noose is already around Russia's neck.

'Anti-Fascist Forces' Denounce Yeltsin

LD2206110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—Russian hard-liners and pro-communists held an "all-union congress of anti-fascist forces" on Tuesday [22 June] to commemorate the anniversary of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.

Although the organisers said that the aim of the congress is to "expose the roots of fascism, give an assessment to it and to work out methods of struggle against it", the congress focused on denouncing President Boris Yeltsin and his entourage calling them "Russian fascists" and welcomed the proposal to execute most radically-minded journalists if the opposition comes to power.

The president, the government and mass media were attacked for the "impoverishment of the people" and the introduction of "a dictatorial regime".

Alekseyev Sergeyev, a member of the "Working Russia" movement, who delivered the main report, said that "all mass media are subordinated to the ruling regime, but time will come when they will have to answer for that according to the truly people's laws".

This means the execution of most radically-minded reporters. Sergeyev proposed to draw up files on "most fascist-minded journalists and in case the opposition comes to power to shoot them". The proposal was welcomed with a storm of applause.

Sergeyev called on all those present to create "a unified anti-fascist bloc" which will show to the people "the true face of the current anti-popular government masked by liberal-bourgeois democracy".

The conference hall which seats 1.5 thousand people could not accommodate all those wishing to attend. A chorus shouting "Soviet Union" welcomed each member of the presidium.

The presidium of the congress united diehard communist leaders Viktor Anpilov from the "Working Russia movement", Valentin Varennikov, one of the main organisers of the hard-line coup in Moscow in August 1991, opposition legislator Vladimir Isakov, former Soviet People's Deputy Sazhiy Umalatova, editors-in-chief of the former main Communist Party publications "PRAVDA" and "GLASNOST".

The hard-liners plan to stage a rally tonight in which they said 70,000 people will participate.

Efforts To Split Constitutional Court Perceived

PM2106154193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Report by Viktor Trushkov: "Constitutional Court on the Verge of Being Scrapped?"]

[Text] All the Russian Constitutional Court judges who attended the meeting with journalists (N. Vitruk, E. Ametistov, and two more of their colleagues "happened" to be busy at the time) talked passionately about the Constitutional Court's high level of competence, about its ability to deal with complex cases. Not only did they speak with passion, they wielded arguments as well. Why was this?

The subtext of the judges' speeches was, above all, a covert debate with the president's team over its intention effectively to scrap the Constitutional Court.

The second reason for the tone adopted by the judges in discussion (and in the meeting with the press, in fact) was a wish to avoid a split in the Constitutional Court on political grounds. The radical democrats have been subjecting the Constitutional Court to heavy fire of late in an attempt to split it apart. For example, B. Yeltsin has received in the presidential chambers one-half of the members of the Constitutional Court, while "forgetting" to invite the rest, including chairman V. Zorkin. The "Last Supper" was soon echoed by public statements by Constitutional Court deputy chairman N. Vitruk, containing unconcealed attacks on colleagues and ultimatums demanding V. Zorkin's resignation.

The meeting also raised an exceedingly topical question: "How would the Constitutional Court behave if attempts were made to adopt the Fundamental Law and circumvent the Congress in the process?" V. Zorkin pointed out the judges' reaction to the events of 20 March and gave assurances that the Constitutional Court would continue just as reliably to watch over the Russian Federation Constitution.

Zorkin on Ties With Yeltsin

LD2106195693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 21 June carries the 60-minute recorded "Without Retouching" interview program with Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin, moderator Sergey Torchinskiy, and correspondents from the following new organizations: IZVESTIYA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, NEZAVISIMYA GAZETA, SEGODNYA, NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA, TRUD, KOMSOMOSLKAYA PRAVDA, the POSTFACTUM news agency, and Russian Radio.

Zorkin responds to questions regarding his relationship with Yeltsin, his views on what the procedure for

adopting the constitution should be, his likes and dislikes regarding various politicians, and his thoughts about the role of the Constitutional Court in the politics of the country.

Zorkin says he has always respected both Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, that they are the leaders of Russia and, as such, they have deserved his respect. He says he has always respected Yeltsin as the country's leader, and his good attitude toward him has never changed. He admits that he did not think it was necessary to hold the 25 April referendum. After all, Zorkin says, the regions, the parties, and not even the nation wanted it. He says that once the referendum took place, however, it was alright. Zorkin says that he was one of the first to vote in the referendum. He adds that the results of the vote are not clear.

Zorkin draws the attention of the correspondents to the fact that it is his custom never to speak badly about politicians. He then restates his view that confrontation between the legislature and the executive should end. He says that early elections could be an option if this aim is not achieved. He says he sees no reason to hold early elections.

Asked about his view on what the procedure for the adoption of the constitution should be, Zorkin says that, above all, legal means should be used to adopt it and that it can be either via Congress or via a referendum. He admits there may be other legal ways to adopt a new constitution.

Asked whether the Congress option could be avoided, Zorkin says he sees no reason why the Congress should not be the body vested with this privilege. In response to a question about whether the Congress option should be used since the Congress might refuse to pass the constitution, Zorkin says that the Congress has been known to make good and wise decisions in the past.

In response to a question regarding the equality of the Federation's subjects, Zorkin says that the subjects of the Federation will eventually be equal, but it is currently too early to speak about their equality.

When asked why the Constitutional Court's decisions are often not implemented, Zorkin replies that the Court's decisions are not the only decisions that are not implemented. He says that many laws and decrees have been flouted for years.

Zorkin is asked whether the Constitutional Court chairman should intervene in politics. He says that the goal of a judge is not to be a politician, but he must deal with political issues and resolve political conflicts. Zorkin asks how a judge can ultimately avoid becoming a politician.

Feature Reports Executive Branch Activities

PM2106115593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **Government's Working Day**

Taking advantage of a break in the Constitutional Conference, Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov has left on a business trip to Krasnoyarsk.

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov received the president of the [French oil company] Elf-Aquitaine, then held a meeting intended to resolve problems of the Karelia region.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is on a business trip to France. [passage omitted]

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray are completing the work of their sections in the Constitutional Conference. Sergey Shakhray has also held a news conference at the Press Center of the Foreign Ministry.

Finally, Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays has held a meeting devoted to problems of small-scale privatization.

Utterances

The privatization of state enterprises will not only be a key avenue of reform but will be the defining background to all economic transformations, Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, stated at a recent meeting with parliamentarians.

He explained that its distinguishing feature, at least in the first stage, **"is not so much a change in the economic status of producers as, in the main, the juridical enshrinement of the redistribution of property which has already taken place."**

Here, however, it should be noted that, in line with the Russian Federation president's edict, every Russian is guaranteed the opportunity of acquiring shares in privatized enterprises in return for his vouchers. According to the same edict, not less than 29 percent of shares must be sold exclusively at specialized check auctions. The Russian Federation Government has been directed to ensure that auctions for the sale of shares in not less than 2,000 enterprises are held on Russian territory in the first half of the current year.

"The ruble zone in the old understanding of the term no longer exists today," Vladimir Mashchits, chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States, stated in his address to a conference of Commonwealth experts devoted to preparing a working draft of a treaty on economic union. "A new ruble zone can be created only on the basis of the Russian ruble, with new game rules. Naturally, the

Central Bank of Russia will occupy the major place in formulating the rules of this game."

"States which want to join the new ruble zone will, in effect, have to rejoin," Vladimir Mashchits stressed. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and the majority of other members of the section of representatives of federal organs of power at the Constitutional Conference have expressed their support for the virtual abolition of the Russian Security Council in its present form. The head of the government does not deem the constitution of this organ necessary; in his opinion, it should be vested with purely consultative functions.

In conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent member of the Russian Federation Government Mikhail Fedotov voiced opposition to the inclusion of the power ministers in the Security Council. Their parallel participation in the work of both the Government and the presidential structure would contradict, in his words, one of the main propositions of the president's draft Constitution according to which the president is head of state, not of the executive. Fedotov also noted that keeping the Security Council in its present form would mean the existence alongside the Cabinet of Ministers of a sort of supergovernment headed by the president. Meanwhile, one of the authors of the draft Constitution, Sergey Shakhray, believes, on the contrary, that it is essential to preserve the Security Council's solid status. B. Yeltsin himself stressed at his recent Independence Day news conference that "a prestigious person with a good knowledge of the state's power structures" is needed for the post of secretary of the Security Council. In the words of Russia's leader, the choice of Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov for the aforementioned post was dictated by these very criteria. [passage omitted]

Further on Activities

PM2106151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed "Executive: Monitoring" column]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] **Government's Working Day**

On Thursday First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko visited the Russian Defense Technical Sports Organization Central Gun Club. Having familiarized himself with the activities of this mass Russian public organization, V. Shumeyko expressed the Russian Federation Government's support for its work on citizens' patriotic education and on the training of young Russians for labor and military service.

Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin plans to hold a conference on budget expenditure in ministries and departments.

There was a session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government yesterday. It was chaired by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov and Vice Premiers Anatoliy Chubays, Aleksandr Zaveryukha, and Aleksandr Shokhin attended it.

In the evening Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin chaired a session of the Commission on Debts and Assets.

First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is in France, his sphere of interests being the 40th International Air Show.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov is at a conference on Krasnoyarsk.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray attended the first congress of entrepreneurs for a new Russia. [passage omitted]

According to Russian Federation Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, neither the Congress of Deputies, nor the president, nor the government has full state power at the moment. Addressing the first congress of the All-Russian "Entrepreneurs for a New Russia" Association in Moscow on Friday, he said that given this situation in the country, the Constitution is the means of paving the way for new elections and creating the chance of the peaceful and evolutionary continuation of the reforms. S. Shakhray, who put forward an initiative on creatijng a Party of Russian Unity and Accord the other day, believes that it could also be called the Russian Provincial Party.

According to the vice premier, the provinces regard most of the existing parties as Moscow organizations. In order to occupy the "political niche," he believes, "entrepreneurs must have a political structure based on the existing political elite of the Russian Federation's regions and on that which is headed for power." According to S. Shakhray, this association could adopt the market economy, federalism, and local self-government as slogans. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Executing Government Decisions

PM2106155193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

["Commentary" by Dmitriy Lvov: "Where Do Decisions 'Fizzle Out'?"]

[Text] Why is the mechanism of executive power misfiring? Why are many decrees and directives not fulfilled? At what stage do they "fizzle out," becoming watered down and sometimes even distorted? The main cogwheel in the mechanism, Staraya Square, only sets the ball rolling, linking up with many other elements in the executive which frequently disrupt the rhythm of transformations, or even hold up altogether the implementation of decisions that are important for the economy.

Analysis carried out by the government apparatus shows that the source of this loss of momentum is ministries and departments. As of 8 June the execution of 144 instructions contained in Russian Federation Council of

Ministers decrees and directives was being held up by these bodies. The Ministry of Finances especially excelled in this art of slamming on the brakes, having disregarded 29 instructions; also the Ministry of the Economy, which has failed to fulfill 21 instructions. Barriers to implementing government decisions exist in the State Committee for the Management of State Property and in the Ministry of Transport, where the execution of six instructions has been held up. The Ministry of Labor has five unexecuted instructions, while the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Social Protection have four apiece.

Unfulfilled assignments increase the critical mass of unsolved problems, slow down the modification of policy and the speed of transformations, and arrest the development of market relations. Moreover, it is a question not simply of routine instructions, but of assignments of a programmatic character for the government. Thus the state of affairs as regards the fulfillment of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government plan of actions for implementing economic reform in 1993 leaves something to be desired. Forty instructions, whose deadlines expired long ago, remain unfulfilled. Once again the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Economy are distinguished by especial failure to execute instructions (18 and 7 instructions respectively).

The question could be asked: Why does the government not monitor the progress of the fulfillment of its decisions? Actually, such permanent monitoring does exist. The Council of Ministers has repeatedly drawn the attention of several leaders of the relevant ministries and departments to the need for assignments to be fulfilled on time, and has issued specific additional instructions. However, even after this the necessary measures have not been adopted.

Evidently, whereas Staraya Square is today trying to work in a new way, people are continuing to operate in the same old way in the residences of other ministries, and the manifestly insufficient responsibility is not the only problem here. The problem is also that, whereas Staraya Square has taken on new cadres, the apparatuses of ministries and departments have mostly kept the old cadres. True, the leaders have changed, but the middle stratum of functionaries, on whom the preparation of the necessary dossiers, materials, and documents—and, moreover, the rate at which this preparation is carried out—depends, in many ways remains the same: sluggish and inert. It is on this stratum, it seems to us, that the Council for Cadres Policy recently set up under the Russian Federation president should focus its attention. After all, the nonfulfillment of a significant number of government instructions threatens to disrupt the government's activity in the most important avenues of the implementation of reforms.

We could stop right here, but let us ponder once again: Why is it that the Ministries of Finance and the Economy lead the field in the number of unfulfilled decisions, but still no radical measures or major cadre shake-ups are carried out in these ministries? Evidently, the problem is that those who issue the numerous instructions do not expect them to be executed, and in this sense the Ministries of Finance and the Economy are victims of populist decisions which are virtually impossible to fulfill in full. This, in our view, is the underlying reason for the failure of central departments to execute decisions. There are instructions and instructions. They too should stem from real financial possibilities and the laws of the market, not good intentions and populist promises.

New Version of Moscow May Day Death Suggested

PM2206093993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Olga Gerasimenko report: "Sensational Version of Death of Vladimir Tolokneyev"]

[Text] The constitutional commotion and the heated debates generated by it about how we should live have relegated quite recent matters to the sidelines. Meanwhile in the depths of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet the special commission investigating the events of 1 May has been continuing its painstaking work.

The 13-man commission, headed by People's Deputy and Lieutenant Colonel of Militia Yuriy Yudin, was set up by Supreme Soviet decision on 6 May. At its first session the commission took the unambiguous decision to conduct its business without inviting the press.

Nevertheless, information does leak out. As one commission member told your correspondent, kilometers of videotape, mainly by foreign correspondents, has already been viewed.

It has become clear that no footage, apart from that officially broadcast on all television channels on 1 May, records the moment when the demonstrators "burst through" the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] ranks. One shot clearly shows a cloud of gas, leaving no doubt that gas weapons were used by the OMON.

If yet another of the commission's working hypotheses is borne out, this matter will take a sensational turn. In the opinion of commission chairman Yudin, the cause of the May Day tragedy—the charge on the OMON member—lies in "the uncoordinated actions of two militia chiefs." According to this hypothesis, the man behind the wheel of the ill-fated vehicle was merely carrying out the order of a specific militia chief. Referring to a videotape he has viewed, Lieutenant Colonel Yudin made clear that intially the vehicle kept in the distance—empty space can clearly be seen behind it. An order to drive the vehicle away was probably received, "but at that moment another militia chief gave the OMON the order to run across in front of the vehicle..."

Will the prosecutor's office working party, which is simultaneously investigating the causes of the tragedy, confirm this hypothesis?

The Supreme Soviet set a 1 June deadline for the commission's report. However, for various reasons, a number of witnesses have not yet been questioned. Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzkkov and Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin, for example, have twice failed to appear.

In the opinion of commission members, Luzhkov is "simply afraid," while Yerin "is unable as a general to swallow his pride and appear before the five lieutenant colonels who are members of the commission."

According to Deputy Yudin, cases of persecution for helping the commission in its work have already been noted: The chief physician of one of Moscow's Gradskaya hospitals, who gave the commission information about casualties, was nearly made "redundant."

For the time being, however, the general preliminary summary is that the city administration's actions were inappropriate to the situation. During the initial phase there was no danger posed by the demonstrators.

Military Issues

Benefits Seen in Arms Trade With Ex-USSR

PM1806111593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by Sergey Akshintsev, expert from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Foreign Economic Policy Council, under the "Russian Interests and Security" rubric: "Does It Pay For Us Not To Sell Weapons to Our Near Neighbors?"]

[Text] In current conditions the problem of developing Russian military-technical cooperation with foreign states is particularly topical, but it has become particularly acute and significant with regard to our immediate neighbors.

On what is this claim based?

Of late the view that Russia with its highly developed defense complex should sell weapons has won extensive official recognition. Effective marketing of national military output, which is still in great demand on the world markets, could provide an important additional source of the hard currency that is so essential for the structural reform of the Russian economy, including the implementation of the planned conversion programs. By supplying foreign countries with our high-tech machinery and technical defense output we could reduce the traditional raw-materials orientation of Russia's exports and our financial dependence on the West. What is more, reliable military-technical ties would be an important precondition for the development of all-around cooperation between the Russian Federation and other states and also for strengthening its positions in the world arena.

However, it is worrying that, having stated our intention of increasing exports of national defense output (needless to say, with consideration for existing international accords), we have been seized by the desire to earn as much hard currency as possible in the shortest possible timeframe and abandoned many of our traditional partners to concentrate our efforts on seeking new friends in West and East, and we have totally disregarded the fact that, given the extremely acute world competition for arms markets over the last few years, it is very easy to abandon these markets but extremely questionable whether we can turn back the clock—a process that does, moreover, take tremendous effort and expenditure.

For all that there is still an objective need for military hardware, many states with no adequate military-industrial base—states which previously depended on Soviet shipments and which are having problems in obtaining Russian arms—are starting to develop their own military production or are seeking alternative sources of supply. To our regret, they are finding them, and this is limiting Russian exporters' opportunities.

The tendency for Russia's positions in the East European market to weaken graphically confirms a situation that may have wide-ranging adverse consequences for national arms manufacturers—those countries were until recently among the largest traditional importers of Soviet arms. For instance, according to open foreign sources, in the period 1981-1990 the USSR supplied Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia with basic conventional arms systems worth over $32 billion—roughly 22 percent of our country's total exports of such arms.

Over the last few years there has been a drastic reduction in Soviet (Russian) arms exports to these countries. Thus, in 1991 Soviet arms exports to Czechoslovakia stood at just 3 percent of the 1989 level, while the figures for Poland and Romania were 1 and 12 percent respectively. Deliveries to Hungary stopped altogether.

Alongside the reduction in shipments of military hardware from the USSR (CIS), including Russia, to Eastern Europe, Western competitors have been seen actively infiltrating these countries' markets. For instance, Poland is seriously considering buying around 200 U.S. F-16 fighters to replace the MiG-21. U.S., British, and French firms are earnestly offering to participate in programs to modernize and repair Soviet-manufactured combat aircraft, of which our East European neighbors have large quantities. Programs to convert these aircraft to Western electronic equipment are the priority here. This primarily applies to the plans to fit East European aircraft with "friend or foe" identification and flight control systems that meet NATO standards.

Israel has stepped up its efforts in this field and will take part in carrying out a program to modernize 100 Romanian Air Force MiG-21 fighters at an estimated cost of $330 million. To this end a MiG-21 aircraft was delivered to Israel this January, presumably bought from Finland.

It is indicative that the leaderships of Western countries regard these plans to convert Soviet-manufactured combat equipment not as a one-off event but as a means of further reinforcing their positions in the East European market. Thus, the press cites reports that the U.S. Government has offered to supply Hungary with the equipment needed to convert 20 of its MiG-21 fighters, and some specialists point out that this may be seen as the first step toward equipping the Hungarian Air Force with U.S. arms systems, in particular the first step toward future purchases of F-16 fighters.

Western competitors are vigorously exploiting the inflexibility and passivity of our national policy on military sales to Eastern Europe by successfully reexporting Soviet hardware and also filling a niche in such areas as spare parts. This primarily applies to the FRG, which is furiously selling off combat hardware and spare parts that it inherited from the former GDR Army. In 1991 the FRG supplied Hungary with three MiG-23 fighters and Poland with two MiG-23U combat trainer aircraft and two Su-22 fighter bombers.

What conclusion can be drawn from the above? That, despite the process of cutting back armed forces in Europe, East European states still need to acquire contemporary arms, and given our sluggishness, an increasing proportion of their requirements are beginning to be met by shipments of our Western rivals' output. Moreover, in view of East Europe's economic problems, the West is taking various steps to stimulate this process, in particular by granting preferential credits and purveying advanced technologies.

It is important to realize that the West is not only deriving economic benefit from infiltrating a new military market, but is also via the mechanism for military-technical cooperation "attaching" the countries of East Europe to it more and more tightly as far as ensuring their security is concerned. The shipments of combat hardware are after all going hand in hand with the organization of a developed material and technical support system, the training of specialists, and the development of a corresponding military infrastructure, which will ultimately expand the West's military presence in Eastern Europe and further weaken Russia's positions.

Evidently, we must take these realities into consideration when shaping Russia's policy for military-technical cooperation with its close neighbors. I do not know about anyone else, but I personally was concerned by reports that Estonia has bought weapons from Israel and also that the West is willing to supply air defense systems and patrol escorts to the Baltic countries. Yet this information, when cited in the national mass media, met with a rather bland reception. At the same time reports that Russian small arms had been sold to Lithuania elicited a negative response, particularly from the right-wing radical press.

We must all realize that the USSR has broken up and the new independent states are trying to forge all the requisite features for their statehood, including armed forces. At present they are equipped with weapons and hardware inherited from the former Soviet Army. However, owing to the breakdown of the former cooperation ties that operated within the unified defense complex, the armed forces of our close neighbors are now starting to have problems meeting their need for spare parts and also for certain kinds of arms. Around 80 percent of the overall Soviet military-political complex' capacities have, after all, been left on Russian territory.

In this connection, and in view of the failure to resolve problems in relations between the former union republics that are now independent states, some of them are taking decisions that are staggeringly illogical. For instance, Ukraine, which lacks small arms manufacturing capacities, is starting to develop its own assault rifle. Despite the extremely grave situation in the Ukrainian economy! It would after all be far more advantageous not to spend vast sums of money on this program but buy Russian Kalashnikovs, which are the world's most common weapon and are notable for their supreme competitiveness in terms of "cost-effectiveness."

Regrettably, today Russia's relations with some of its close neighbors are indeed reminiscent of a divorcing couple, carving up all the property that they have acquired together. Moreover, they have additional negative overtones due to the problems with national currencies and mutual settlements and disagreements over problems of collective defense and nuclear weapons, as well as territorial claims. Under these conditions the question of Russian arms shipments to our neighbors may seem inappropriate, but it must be resolved, and it must be done on a civilized basis because this is a profitable business for Russia.

I totally agree with the view that preserving the Russian Federation's positions in the traditional arms market among its close neighbors is one of the main strategic priorities in the development of Russian military-technical cooperation with foreign countries. By supplying these countries with weapons Russia will be able to occupy the capacities of military plants that are experiencing problems owing to the fall in military orders, reduce the cost of technical equipment programs for its own armed forces, improve its foreign trade balance, and also strengthen its military and military-economic ties with its immediate neighbors. Without this market it will be hard for us to achieve success in markets elsewhere in the world.

It also pays for the former union republics, now independent states, to purchase Russian arms. With their large number of Soviet (Russian) weapons it will be

harder and more costly for them to convert to Western technology or develop their own multisectoral military industry. Russian military hardware will be cheaper for these countries; moreover, if the traditional economic ties were restored, this hardware could be bartered for various consumer goods which, East Europe's experience shows, are not always in demand in the West. The benefit derived from military production sharing must, moreover, be borne in mind. Ukraine, for instance, does not after all have missile systems built entirely from Ukrainian components—shipments of assemblies and components are needed from Russia to ensure their operation. At the same time Russia itself may encounter problems in servicing its RS-16 and RS-20 missiles since Ukrainian enterprises specialized in manufacturing a number of components for them. The severing of these ties could cause the loss of many high-technology, advanced products [narabotki], which would be detrimental to our states' security and result in considerable economic losses.

Thus, when developing Russia's policy for military-technical cooperation with its close neighbors we must act on the basis that this process is mutually beneficial and bear in mind that, amid global disarmament, production sharing and interstate specialization are one of the most important trends in the development of world military production. Russia is vigorously seeking new partners in the world arena, but it must not forget the old partners who may in certain situations turn their backs, causing Russian interests to suffer.

When talking of the need to export our arms, we must realize that statements of willingness to sell this complex output are not enough in this business. What is needed is vigorous, purposeful, well-coordinated work to study the military market, track and predict its requirements, develop a system to promptly convey this information to potential contractors, establish a system of funding for shipments and mutual settlements with customers, and, needless to say, organize a reliable material and technical support system for the equipment sold. The military market is developing, and we must prove ourselves skilled salesmen who take the customers' needs into consideration and demonstrate an ability to do business in a civilized manner, making provision, in particular, for procedures to prevent the unauthorized reexport of our arms to third countries.

Glukhikh on Defense Conversion, Market

PM2106131393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry: "Can a Tank Plant Be Privatized?"]

[Text] In the transition to the market the defense industry has experienced all the difficulties of that transition, perhaps more that any other sphere of the Russian economy. It is enterprises engaged in developing and producing military equipment that were most subjected to strict state control. The administrative-edict system, which furthermore operated in conditions of sometimes acute military-political conflict and economic free-thinking, did not work. The directors of military-industrial complex enterprises and organizations are well aware of this.

The Russian economy's transition to market principles naturally requires new approaches to the organization and management of production. Naturally, the speediest elaboration of a statewide industrial policy, an integral part of which would be state industrial policy in the military-industrial complex, is acquiring particular urgency in this context. Such work is currently being actively carried out with the participation of the Russian Committee for Defense Sectors of Industry. In our opinion, in the new economic conditions the defense industry must tackle the questions of developing Russia's military-industrial base in order to guarantee the country's security, federal needs, and the implementation of conversion and to meet the population's needs for essential civilian goods.

What exactly is the Russian military-industrial complex today? It encompasses over 1,200 enterprises and organizations, at which several million people work. Many enterprises have founded concerns, corporations, associations and joint-stock companies on voluntary principles.

In 1992 the defense industry produced up to 8 percent of Russia's total industrial output. Military output itself accounted for only around 20 percent (50 percent in 1990). Last year we had a 19.7-percent reduction in total production. While the production of civilian output was practically unchanged, our main "minus" stemmed from the sharp, almost wholesale reduction in the defense order. The reduction was around 70 percent in industry and 50 percent in science.

Conversion of military production has had to be carried out in the absence of a Russian military doctrine and consequently of a long-term prospect of military equipment production. A new industrial policy in the defense complex must be elaborated in such a way as to eliminate any such phenomena affecting Russia's strategic security. Legislative acts regulating mechanisms for the military economy's medium- and long-term planning and development should be elaborated. They include the laws "On the Defense Budget," "On the State Program for Developing Arms and Military Equipment," "On the Defense Order," and "On the Status of Enterprises Participating in Fulfilling It," etc.

At the same time major structural changes in the military-industrial complex system are absolutely inevitable and have already begun. I am talking not only about changing production units' specialty, which is a direct consequence of conversion, but most importantly, about reorganizing the ownership structure. We are fully aware that the defense industry's state enterprises cannot be

active components of the market with their current status. Unless a considerable proportion of them are privatized the defense complex will not be able to integrate into the market economy.

Proceeding from these fundamental premises, we are now engaged in working out sensible approaches to the privatization of defense enterprises from the viewpoint of maintaining the country's necessary defense capability and implementing economic reform in the military-industrial complex.

In our opinion, the following scheme could be a realistic option. The first task is to identify the core of state enterprises in the military-industrial complex that possess key arms and military equipment production technologies which accord with the new Russian military doctrine. According to our calculations, there are around 300 of them. For a considerable number of the remainder, which participate in series production of military equipment, there will be a gradually implemented program of flotation and creating joint-stock companies in which the government would retain a proportion of shares, and finally, the full release on the free market of enterprises retaining the right to participate in defense order production. The vast majority of defense industry components should be floated by 1995.

On the one hand this approach takes full account of Russia's national security interests, and on the other it gives defense enterprises the opportunity to make an optimal transition to a market-type economy. Enterprises under any form of ownership can be called on to fulfill any state order, including on a competitive basis. It is of fundamental importance to ensure that the participation of each one of them in carrying out such work is prestigious and does not harm its economic interests.

It is impossible to imagine structural transformations in industry's defense sectors without the conversion of military production. I think it unlikely that this process can be stopped. In 1992 the number of enterprises being converted was far in excess of 1,000. To be frank, conversion is proceeding with a fair degree of difficulty against the background of the general crisis in the Russian economy. At the same time the "Law on Conversion of the Defense Industry in the Russian Federation" came into force from 1 January this year and in my view creates a solid legal basis for ensuring that the conversion process acquires a predictable nature for enterprises.

We proceed from the premise that conversion policy must be geared to making individual producers' conversion projects as close as possible to federal programs (for example, on energy, transport, ecology, medicine, and the agro-industrial complex). The meeting of this condition will substantially increase the effectiveness of the entire Russian national economy's structural reorganization and will provide an opportunity to make targeted use of every ruble of the relevant budget finance.

There are also many problems in the carrying out of foreign economic activity by defense sectors. The practice of exporting weapons that existed in this country for years must be changed. The producer and developer must be more closely involved in this process and given the necessary autonomy (in the form of an appropriate license) to conclude direct contracts with purchasers. Chinese military plants' similar experience shows that they managed not only to preserve the technologies necessary for the country's defense capability, but also to make effective use of the foreign currency proceeds to convert production.

We have products with which to enter the weapons market, although it is very, very difficult to regain the lost ground there. It remains to be hoped that all the components participating in the weapons export process, including producers, will show enough sense and patriotism to return Russia to the ranks of world weapons exporters by pooling their efforts.

Rear Services Commanders Confer

PM2106150193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 2

[Petr Altunin report under the "From our News Bureau" rubric: "Three-Day Gathering of Russian Federation Armed Forces Rear Services Leadership Personnel"]

[Text] The reports of Colonel General Vladimir Toporov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, and Lieutenant General Aleksey Klimov, chief of staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Rear Services, and the speeches of participants at the gathering discussed the development of Rear Services structures in the light of market relations in the military reform taking place in the forces.

Emphasis was placed on the need to systematically introduce a territorial system of rear services support to facilitate the more efficient delivery of materiel to the forces. During the gathering there was a scientific and practical conference on the subject of improving rear services agencies.

Army Recruitment Under Contract Discontinued in Far East

PM2206100793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed untitled report]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's order to discontinue recruitment of conscripts into the Armed Forces on a contract basis has been circulated in military formations of the Pacific Fleet and the Far East Military District. According to unofficial information, similar orders have been issued with regard to the internal troops of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Civilian Personnel in Army To Be Increased

PM2206102793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Russian Federation Defense Ministry Press Center report under the "At the Russian Federation Defense Ministry" rubric: "There Will Be More Civilian Personnel"]

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, has taken another step to boost the staffing of the Armed Forces. By Order No. 295 of 8 June 1993 he has given authorization for vacancies for servicemen in all troop units, formations, military educational establishments, and Russian Federation Defense Ministry enterprises and organizations to be staffed by civilian personnel without fixing a quota, on the terms of a fixed-term labor contract, but for no more than five years. A special list attached to the order stipulates a series of posts that can be staffed by civilian personnel. Officer posts include such posts as leading scientific staffer, medical specialist, engineer, translator, and club head. The list of posts of enlisted and NCO rank is far longer, also incorporating such specialisms as aircraft mechanic, paramedic, movie technician, topographer, cook, carpenter, etc.

The following indispensable condition must be observed in this: Civilians taken on to fill the vacancies must not have servicemen under their command.

Panel Head on Implementing CW Treaty

PM2206092993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Academician Anatoliy Kuntsevich of the Russian Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Committee for Convention Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons under the Russian Federation president, by Sergey Ovsiyenko under the "Security" rubric; place and date not given: "Is There an Antidote?"]

[Text] [Ovsiyenko] Anatoliy Demyanovich! Under the existing provisions of the international Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, your committee is called upon to monitor the observance of its requirements in Russia. But as far as I know, there are no legal principles regulating your activity...

[Kuntsevich] You are correct in noting that there are none at present. We are working on this, our aim being to prepare a package of laws. This package of legal acts will determine the extent of liability, including administrative and criminal liability, of officials who have violated Russia's convention commitments and will create conditions making it impossible to deviate even a single step from the agreements that have been signed.

[Ovsiyenko] Anatoliy Demyanovich, to what extent does the Paris Convention ensure Russia's national security?

[Kuntsevich] It does so via the international national committees and inspections. For example, if we suspect that a particular country is committing a violation and producing toxins, even if it is in insignificant quantities, we have the right to send an inspection team there. The convention guarantees us this—you cannot refuse to be monitored. And if this information is confirmed, international sanctions come into effect.

[Ovsiyenko] So what is the state of affairs concerning the elimination of chemical weapons in Russia itself?

[Kuntsevich] These same convention provisions, which have been recognized by Russia, oblige the committee to assume the role of national coordinator of work to destroy toxins and to elaborate a unified state policy in this sphere.

A large volume of work must be carried out to uncover all burials of toxins carried out since 1 January 1946 and before then.

Archive information which the committee now has at its disposal indicates that there are no secret burial sites in Russia, unlike in the FRG, where, according to articles in the German press, there are several dozen. On the territory of the Shikhany test range in Saratov Oblast, we have a burial site of old irritant toxins. Work is being done to bring it into line with environmental norms.

We are monitoring the Baltic Sea. After World War II a significant quantity of chemical weapons were sunk there and in the North Sea within the framework of an international agreement between Britain, the USSR, the United States, and France.

[Ovsiyenko] Huge reserves of toxins have accumulated in Russia. How can these now be destroyed in order to fulfil the requirements of the convention?

[Kuntsevich] The destruction of chemical weapons is an important and in many respects difficult problem for Russia. Russia has 40,000 tonnes of toxins, of which 10,000 tonnes are obsolete—mustard gas and lewisite—and 32,000 tonnes are organophosphorus toxins. Russia and the United States occupy an equal place on the basis of this indicator.

There are also difficulties connected with the plants for the production of chemical weapons, which should be physically destroyed under the convention, but Russia cannot take such a step at present because of the economic difficulties it is experiencing. This would cost the state budget 50 billion rubles [R].

We should not destroy these enterprises, but convert them, setting up the production of detergents, for example, or other domestic chemical output. The committee is in favor of keeping general-purpose equipment and only dismantling the last link in the technological process of the production of toxins and ammunition.

This approach is being greeted with understanding among the parties to the convention. Having examined

the Volgograd plant where chemical weapons used to be manufactured, the Americans came to the conclusion that this approach does not contravene the convention.

[Ovsiyenko] How much will the national program for the elimination of chemical weapons cost?

[Kuntsevich] The 10-year program will demand R600 billion. As you can see, this is a huge sum and makes up over half of all expenditure on all forms of weapons.

Even this is unfortunately not all: Under the convention, Russia must pay in hard currency for every visit to us by an international inspection team. In Iraq, for example, one day's work by a UN inspector was estimated at $2,000-2,500.

Where can we get this hard currency, which is already in short supply in Russia? We are looking for and proposing solutions, and we are guaranteeing the visiting monitoring inspection team full board and lodging for rubles, so that our experts are greeted in the same way in the United States, for example, with which we have bilateral agreements.

[Ovsiyenko] But where can we get the money to implement the national program for the destruction of chemical weapons?

[Kuntsevich] There are several options which we went through at the Moscow conference. One of them is to create a nongovernmental "Chemical Disarmament" fund which would include an investment bank and a major holding company which would have specific privileges and state guarantees in Russia. I am sure that this would attract Western firms and their investments.

Commercial business projects in industry, agriculture, and construction also have the right to exist... Part of the profit from them would go into the implementation of our program. If this is successful, it would be possible to cover around 50 percent of budget expenditure.

I would stress once again that we need state support for this.

Russian entrepreneurs could invest money in the recycling of toxins. We are now elaborating the following project: On the basis of the recycling of lewisite, we can obtain output which is in demand on the world market, and channel income from this into the local budget.

[Ovsiyenko] The national program envisages the creation of installations for the destruction of chemical weapons. Where exactly, and how many of them?

[Kuntsevich] Their structure has not been determined yet, and the reason is our financial difficulties. There is a plan for the first phase, which is aimed at destroying 43 percent of chemical weapons stocks by the year 2004. These volumes and deadlines, it must be noted, fit in with the convention provisions.

It was intended that only three installations would be created: the settlement of Gornyy in Saratov Oblast, the city of Kambarka in Udmurtia, and Novocheboksarsk.

Moscow Institute Defended Against CW Charge

PM2106103993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 93 p 2

[Mikhail Rebrov report: "Who's Covering Up? An Attempt to Get to the Bottom of the Complex Situation Surrounding a Once Top-Secret Scientific Research Institute"]

[Text] Attacks on the State Scientific Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology began seemingly overnight and from all directions. The chief grounds boiled down to the claim that the once top-secret "mailbox" [defense plant] is continuing to produce chemical weapons and is literally poisoning Muscovites.

Rumors that tonnes of mustard gas are secretly buried on the territory of the institute (which is situated on Shosse Entuziastov in Moscow) spread like wildfire. The story was reinforced by the date of the aforementioned deed—mid-October 1941 was mentioned—and sounded highly plausible. The Germans were outside the walls of Moscow, many scientific research institutes were hastily evacuated, and what they couldn't take with them... In short, the mustard gas might have been "hidden."

An inquiry began. Checking out the rumors after almost half a century turned out to be a difficult task. Documents had not been preserved, and witnesses could not be found. Twenty-six workers, engineers, and scientists who remember that troubled and alarming time were interviewed. They all declared: "Nothing of the sort took place." But there was no hard evidence...

Moreover, one of the "witnesses" sowed doubts by saying "seemingly something was done." He even indicated the place where the dangerous toxin could be stored. The area was narrowed down, and a thorough analysis of soil samples from various depths was carried out—nothing was found. Then they recalled an incident from those distant wartime years. A worker had sat down on a drum, then his trousers suddenly caught fire. There was confusion and panic... The poor guy was saved, although he lost his trousers. However, that drum contained not mustard gas but the incendiary mixture used to fill bottles during the war years.

Then stories about shells appeared. Intriguing details emerged about a suspicious "device" found in the institute's yard. Combat engineers were summoned and people were evacuated, and it turned out that the shell casing was topped with a regular valve: During the war it had been used instead of a gas cylinder.

But then yet another "criminal" business surfaced. Referring to the opinion of highly authoritative staffers at the institute, rumors spread that "chromatographic analysis of the water supply in building No 7, which is

fed from an artesian well, revealed the presence of a whole range of compounds similar in structure to mustard gas."

You can imagine the state of people working in "No 7." Once again there was an inquiry, and once again there was confusion: There is no artesian well at the institute, and of the two wells which used to operate, one was closed in 1971, and the other in 1985. All water consumption comes from the city network.

The reader has every right to ask: Legends are all very well, but what about the real issue? That is, chemical weapons? He will be hitting the nail right on the head.

"We were indeed involved with creating them for many years," Institute Director Professor V. Petrunin says. "The institute, if you trace its history strictly, dates back to the czar's edict of 1915, but we were far more actively involved in resolving the problem of protection against chemical weapons. What is more, many topics and research studies had and continue to have great scientific and national-economic significance. Representatives of the scientific schools of Academicians Zelinskiy, Knunyanets, Fokin, and Kabachnik all worked at the institute..."

Much has been said lately both in our country and abroad about chemical weapons. There has been more about the past, admittedly, but with a clear desire to switch the emphasis to the present. The most important point is that there is a clear wish to shift all the blame onto Russian chemical science, Russian scientists, and, of course, the military too. It turns out that the "deceived" West, faced with the threat of chemical attack by Russia, was forced to hastily replenish its arsenals. This interpretation of events looks convincing when it is bolstered by references to the top-secret program code-named "Foliant," a binary neuroparalytic toxin called "Novichok" (versions of it bearing the the numbers 5, 8, 9, and so on are mentioned), products "33" and "35," a sample code-named "VX," and others.

Let us leave aside the newly fashionable allusions to declassified secrets. Let us take two fairly recent dates. On 15 January 1986 USSR head M. Gorbachev put forward a program to create a nuclear-free world and to eliminate chemical weapons. At the end of that same year the U.S. Congress, after a whole series of votes, approved appropriations to develop new chemical weapons, and President R. Reagan declared: "The production of chemical weapons is determined by U.S. national security interests and the interests of other NATO countries." Some $3 billion were earmarked for the production of 1 million binary artillery shells each capable, with its contents, of killing hundreds of people in between three and five minutes. In short, reason did not prevail.

Moving to the left and the right of the timescale, I can recall the admission by American scientist D. Ellsberg that chemical weapons were used in Vietnam, and the statement by chemical engineer Gordon Berk [surname as transliterated] (a consultant on questions regarding the Convention on Banning Chemical Weapons) that "work for defensive purposes will continue always." His explanation: "We have the right to do this."

But you know, a right should be the same for all.

"Banning chemical weapons is a wise move and there is no alternative to it." I heard this from many staffers at the institute. What worries them is something else: By no means all countries have signed the international agreement, and some are even advocating the stockpiling of chemical weapons, calling them the "poor man's atom bomb."

In a conversation with the director, his deputies Ye. Fokin and Yu. Baranov, department chief B. Kuznetsov, and staffers at the S. Bortnik laboratory, we discussed the 40,000 tonnes of "death" which accumulated by the country over many long years. It is not so easy to destroy it while observing all safety norms. This is a very costly operation. According to American estimates (they have roughly the same amount of these "goods"), it will require between $5 and $8 billion. Where can that kind of money come from?

A number of interesting projects exist. For instance, it is proposed to "dump" all these military chemicals in space. There is a purely terrestrial version too—throw it into the crater of a volcano. There is also talk of an underground explosion at one of the test sites—Novaya Zemlya, for instance. All these are illusions; 40,000 tonnes of chemicals plus the metal—this makes roughly 400,000 tonnes. How many rockets would be needed for this operation, and how much would it cost? Special transport facilities and roads would be required to take the chemical agents to the volcanoes or the test sites. But all oblasts and regions are "closed" to the passage of dangerous chemicals. Whichever way you look at it, everything comes full circle—back to the institute's technologies and speciality.

"Disarmament is impossible without us," Viktor Alekseyevich Petrunin says, not boastfully, but sadly. "Not everyone can do this kind of work: It requires not only the highest level of professionalism, but also the relevant psychological training. All the allusions to Western technologies are dilettantism at the very least. Our technologies are in a different league in terms of sophistication and safety..."

Now a word about conversion. There is no need to start from scratch here. This process has been going on for a long time. Indeed, the institute has never dealt only in military problems. It combined both aspects. And when it comes to protecting the population from weapons of mass destruction, I would call this kind of project humane, not military.

"Not a single gram of toxins was produced at our experimental plant. Anything remotely dangerous was taken out of Moscow back in 1960," Professor Petrunin

says. "What you find in the laboratories does not contravene any legal norms. The convention stipulates that even university laboratories can make up to 100 grams of war gases a year. The United States has not abandoned research and development, nor has France. You cannot halt science. Whether or not these studies become new weapons is a separate question..."

There are many questions, and not all of them have exhaustive answers today. Take the following absurdity: The workshops of the plants which previously produced toxins have to be destroyed. The Americans are not concerned about this. Climatic conditions there are such that plants were light prefabricated buildings, but what are we supposed to do with our "cast concrete"? Destroy it? When there is such a shortage of money, not to mention production, warehouse, and other facilities?

What else is the institute famous for? It was here that phenol and acetone—the basis of caprone—were produced for the first time and they developed processes for producing hydrocyanic acid, methyl acrylate and organic glass, ethylene oxide and its derivatives, which are the basis of the chemical industry, organophosphorus toxins, organofluoric compounds...

I will not mention the other pioneering developments. There are many. Even if they sound a little dull, they are badly needed by our national economy!

The State Scientific Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology is also a readymade pharmacology complex. It produces a number of medical preparations and carries out research into new ones. There is a Russian Federation Health Ministry list of vital medicines. It contains approximately 300 items. The technology for 14 of them was developed at the institute. Let me point out: 14 so far. But you know, we could already be talking about income running into billions if production is expanded rather than wound down.

I happened to read a document which goes by the index number A6-9-3176 in all registration books. Its precise title is: "On the Results of a Check on the Nature Conservation Activity of the State Scientific Research Institute of Organic Chemistry and Technology"—let us note that this was not the first such check. It is addressed to the presidential apparatus. It is signed by the chairman of the Moscow Committee for the Environment. Its essence is as follows: Analysis of samples of soil, air, and water within the institute's territory permits the conclusion that the ecological situation is normal.

Salvage Operations for Nuclear Submarines Examined

LD2206112893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 22 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Not to be caught by surprise. This was an obsession of ours which could be seen for many years after the war in the ever-increasing production of arms. Now it has emerged that when it comes to reducing them, the salvage process is just as complicated as the production process.

[Correspondent Stanislav Novitskiy in Severodvinsk] Until recently the Zvezdochka Severodvinsk Machine-Building Enterprise was only known to a small circle of specialists involved in the use and repair of nuclear submarines. Apart from repair work, the dismantling and salvaging of the submarines is now going on behind what were, at one time, top secret doors. The compartments loaded with nuclear reactors are being cut out, welded, and towed to the north by sea, while the hulls of the vessels, including the once-threatening missile shafts, are being converted into scrap metal and melted down.

Specialists assert that the salvage process for the submarines is no less complex than building them. One would think that there would be special respect given to this complex and dangerous operation but, just as with Russia's ordinary enterprises, there are acute problems here with mutual nonpayments.

Imagine that the cover of a nuclear reactor is being removed by an electric crane. While this is going on, the plant, persistently in arrears with its electricity bills, has its power supply cut off. This could well be the case here. The situation in the overcrowded naval bases has become extreme. Dozens of nuclear submarines are lining up to be dismantled. Some 85 percent of the vessels which have been taken out of commission from the fleet have not even had their nuclear fuel unloaded.

It is understandable: the state, having spent significant funds on building the vessels, finds it difficult to meet the cost of the salvage when it is time. But there is no alternative. Money is precious, but safety is more precious.

Media Issues

Strike Affects Issue of 19 Jun IZVESTIYA

LD1806191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—A regular issue of the IZVESTIYA newspaper will not be released on Saturday due to the strike of the IZVESTIYA publishing house's type-setting workshop staffers.

The workers demand higher wages, as they now have 16,000-20,000 roubles a month. They have gone on a warning strike and were assured by the printing house authorities all their demands will be fulfilled. Still, this does not happen.

Today's meeting of the labor collective produced an ultimatum: "If the promises are not kept, we preserve the right to announce an open-ended strike". Besides,

the workshop collective demanded elections of heads of the publishing house and the printing house, "as the current heads are not able to solve problems of the enterprise," financed by its founder - the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Print Workers Agree To Publish

LD2106112293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0910 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun (TASS)—IZVESTIYA, which was not published last Friday because print workers went on strike, will be published for the next three days, IZVESTIYA Editor in Chief Igor Golembiovskiy told the ITAR-TASS corresondent today.

He said agreement had been reached with the print workers to resume publication temporarily, and pointed out that the print workers had no argument with IZVESTIYA itself. The workers have regrettably been brought to a stage of desperation, and they are waiting for the management of the publishing house to fulfill their promises, in particular to raise wages.

Igor Golembiovskiy also said that, if the situation fails to stabilize in the very near future, the newspaper would be forced "to switch to another publishing house."

Government Press Service Chief Interviewed

PM2106110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Valentin Sergeyev, leader of the Russian Council of Ministers press service, by Vladimir Khrustov; date and place of interview not stated: "Information Backup for Reforms"]

[Text] The talk with Valentin Sergeyev, leader of the newly created Russian Council of Ministers press service, began with a question about the new subdivision's main tasks.

[Sergeyev] Our service is designed to strengthen the government's business ties with the central, regional, and foreign press. The government and the chairman of the council of Ministers must have every opportunity to ensure that each decision becomes not only known, but also comprehensible to every Russian and to all those interested in the policy of our government abroad. The press service is designed to provide journalists with information about how work to fulfill the decisions of the president and government is organized. We will thus be able to promote an increase in the public effectiveness of publications and television and radio broadcasts. It seems to me that today this is one of the main problems for both journalists and the government.

The press is called the fourth power. How strong is that power now? Let us go back a few years. In virtually every newspaper one of the most important rubrics was "Steps Taken" or "Following Up Our Items." And if after the publication some decision appeared at ministry level or even more so at government level, then we spoke with pride of the effectiveness of the press. Today we see a different picture in many publications: It is utterly incomprehensible who exactly the journalist is addressing, who specifically should answer the questions raised in an article or program. Naturally no one responds to such items and there are virtually no items in newspapers about steps which have been taken. These publications are of little benefit.

Helping the mass media to become more effective and efficient is an important task of the Council of Ministers press service. And for that what is needed primarily is to set up close collaboration with journalists, particularly those who constantly cover the activity of the government. With all the necessary information press workers could prepare items and television and radio broadcasts on the most important, acute problems for whose solution the intervention of state (and not only state) organs is essential, in brief steps should be "taken."

I think it will be a great victory for glasnost if a particular publication or television program becomes the subject of discussion in the government and an appropriate decision is taken on a problem raised by the press. And as I understood Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, with whom I had a detailed talk, the government is expecting publications of precisely this kind. It is very important that the press should show Russian citizens what kind of government they have, what it is doing and how, the direction in which it is going, and how particular decisions make it possible to implement reforms. All this can be called collaboration between the press and the government. It must merely be stipulated immediately that the government does not intend to somehow influence journalists or the nature of the items they produce. Of course, in no way is it a case of some set nature for topics or their interpretation.

Any decision by the government affects each of us to some degree. But often that cannot be understood from the text of documents, so saturated are they sometimes with complex economic terms that are new to us. Consequently, here too, the government cannot do without help from the mass media.

The first days of work in the government apparatus convince me that the majority of Council of Ministers decisions are indeed directed toward the future. As a man and as a journalist, I find very close to me the practice of the prime minister who spends over half his time and energy on elaborating long-term programs. That creates certainty for the future.

If journalists are well informed about this then virtually all the most interesting items will also be directed toward the future and publications which "bring up the rear" will disappear.

In general looking into the future is a very interesting undertaking...

[Khrustov] When you headed the information department in Silayev's Council of Ministers newspaper men said of you: "our man at the Council of Ministers." Can the same be said of you today?

[Sergeyev] Now such an assessment must be earned. And I should like one more thing: That after a while the prime minster also says: "We have our man in the journalists' corps." For me, that will mean that a direct feedback has been established. And that is no simple task, you will agree. Especially as it must not be resolved on the basis of the principle of "ours and yours."

[Khrustov] What wishes has Viktor Chernomyrdin expressed in appointing you to this post?

[Sergeyev] He had one wish: To ensure that he has the maximum business and mutually beneficial contact with the press.

[Khrustov] But as far as I know he is not too eager to give interviews?

[Sergeyev] That is true. But nonetheless he understands very well the role of the press and is convinced that only the press will help create an atmosphere of understanding of the actions of the president and government which we all lack so much today.

On the other hand the premier would like the press service to help him select what is most important from the enormous flow of information necessary to the business man to help him have a better knowledge of the situation in the country and help make balanced, justified decisions.

Supreme Soviet

Soviet of Nationalities Issues Statement on Chechnya

PM2106140993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Statement by Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in connection with situation in Chechen Republic: "In Defense of Human Rights"]

[Text] On 17 June the Russian Federation Soviet of Nationalities examined the question of the situation in the Chechen Republic and adopted a statement, which is published below.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities is deeply concerned about the tragic events that occurred in the city of Groznyy during the first days of June. The Dudayev regime has grossly and cruelly violated human and civil rights recognized by the entire international community by using military force to break up a peaceful opposition rally and to wreck the referendum scheduled for 5 June. People were killed as a result of the bloody violence against the population, and dozens of people were injured. People who disagree with the policy of the authorities are being arrested. A situation of totally unrestricted arbitrariness and violence has been created in the republic.

The day of 5 June 1993 became a black landmark in the history of the Chechen people. We express profound condolences with the families of the deceased, with those who have suffered, and with all who in one way or another are victims of the totalitarian regime and are oppressed by it. We are sure that the citizens of the Chechen Republic will be able independently to uphold their right to a worthy life under conditions of personal freedom, democracy, and legality and will find a way out of the national tragedy which is not attended by bloodshed and people's suffering.

The policy of the ruling clique is bringing the inhabitants of Chechnya bitter fruits and having an adverse effect on the situation throughout the North Caucasus and outside it. The position of representatives of the various nationalities residing on the republic's territory has deteriorated sharply. Some of them are essentially being ousted from the republic and have been forced to leave places where they and many generations of their ancestors have lived in peace and friendship with Chechens and Ingush. This in turn is having a negative effect on the attitude toward Chechens who are outside the republic, in other parts of Russia and the former USSR. Arbitrariness, lawlessness, a gamble on military force, and the totally unrestricted spread of weapons have exacerbated the already difficult crime situation in and around the Chechen Republic and led to a strengthening of the influence of mafia structures and numerous criminal groupings.

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities appeals to the federal organs of power and to the organs of power of the Chechen Republic and the other North Caucasus republics to take the necessary steps without delay to normalize the situation in the Chechen Republic, to give assistance to the population which has suffered, and to defend the rights and freedoms of the individual. We hope that the active position of the federal and local organs of power, the components of the Russian Federation, political parties, and national and public movements will help to restore peace, democracy, and order in Chechnya and the tranquillity of its inhabitants.

[Signed] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities

Debates Ingush-Ossetian Conflict

PM1806130193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Linkov: "Bad Peace Better Than Good Quarrel"]

[Text] Television news programs now mostly begin with reports from the conflict zones—Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, but the fire of tension is also constantly

smoldering in Russia. After all, relations are far from settled and peace has not been restored between the Ossetians and the Ingush.

What is preventing the establishment of good-neighborly relations? This was discussed yesterday at the session of the Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities in which A. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Republic Supreme Soviet, S. Khetagurov, chairman of that republic's Council of Ministers, R. Aushev, president of the Ingush Republic, and leaders of federal ministers took part.

Providing information on the progress in the settlement of the Ingush-Ossetian conflict, I. Vertogradskaya, a member of the commission of the congress of people's deputies, noted that recently during the negotiating process it has been possible to achieve certain results and a legal base has been created for settling the conflict. The Ingush Republic has been formed and its president has been elected. But one cannot speak of complete stabilization in the region. The federal republican organs of executive power and the prosecutor's office are failing to display sufficient persistence in fulfilling the decisions already made. To this day the reasons for and organizers of the conflict have not been determined. The problems of refugees and enforced exiles are in practice not being resolved. Illegal armed formations continue to operate. The question of the Ingush Republic's borders is not being resolved. This and much else is failing to contribute to the settlement of the conflict.

V. Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, Ye. Lisov, first deputy general prosecutor, and A. Kulikov, deputy ministers of internal affairs, set out their positions at the chamber session, describing the measures which the federal organs are taking. In particular it was said that the local authorities must play a more active part in maintaining and establishing peace. In turn S. Khetagurov, chairman of the North Ossetia Council of Ministers, drew attention to the need to be more attentive toward the decisions that are made. Including decisions on the establishing of borders. If we start to recarve them now we will get nothing but warfare. It is also extremely difficult to resolve the refugee problem. The complications in establishing the young Ingush Republic were mentioned by its president, R. Aushev. Everything has to be organized under incredibly difficult conditions.

Will the Ingush-Ossetian conflict be resolved by peace or will internecine warfare again flare up here? There was no single answer at yesterday's session. The Soviet of Nationalities resolution which was adopted draws attention to the need to take additional steps. The holding of the conference of national movements of this region, scheduled for the next few days, should play a part of some importance as should a session of the North Caucasus coordination council. It remains to be hoped that people will recall that a bad peace is better than any quarrel.

Shaposhnikov To Address Supreme Soviet

LD1806175093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jun—The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will be addressed by [zaslushayet] Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov following his appointment as secretary of the Security Council by Boris Yeltsin. This was put on the agenda by a vote of the deputies at a joint session of the chambers.

The initiative came from Deputy Gennadiy Sayenko, one of the leaders of the Opposition bloc "Russian Unity", who tabled the proposal. Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee for defense and security, recalled in this connection that by law, the secretary of the Security Council must, after being appointed by presidential decree, also be confirmed by the Supreme Soviet.

Stepashin said he and his colleagues on the committee had met Shaposhnikov. A letter to the president would be prepared, proposing that the new secretary of the Security Council be heard at a session of the Supreme Soviet.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Views Yakutia as Model for Russia

PM2206105593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "President Went to Yakutia To Seek New Model of Russia's Management"]

[Text] Yakutsk-Moscow—"Do not seek politics here." President B. Yeltsin began his visit to Yakutsk with this sentence on 18 June. He made this statement to journalists upon his arrival at the airport of the capital of Yakutia, thereby dismaying many people. For it is too much of a luxury for the president to make a six-hour flight and stay in the republic for 48 hours without any serious tasks.

In an exclusive interview with IZVESTIYA's correspondent President M. Nikolayev of the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia said, in particular: We are taking just the first steps in the development of statehood. Yeltsin realizes that Russia's might will be increased by strong republics and territories. A mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty must be found. In Moscow you cannot see and take everything into account. Yakutia is, maybe, the only republic which does not need transfusions from the budget. Previously we did not even know what diamonds were or how many were extracted on our land. Now it is necessary to find a formula for cooperation with the federal authorities so that we can control our own riches, while also not forgetting about the good of all of Russia.

There is another aspect to this mechanism—the political and cultural aspect, Nikolayev continued. For over four centuries the people of Yakutia have demonstrated that they cannot conceive of themselves or see themselves outside Russia. But we cannot be satisfied with the fact that not even school teaching is conducted in the national language. Moreover, if you consider the republic's vast territory and its weak social infrastructure, the need for Yakutia's special status arises. For in the Russian Empire special rights were granted to Finland, Poland.... We understand our sovereignty as encompassing treaty relations with federal organs.

After this conversation it was clear that Yeltsin's stay on the soil of Yakutia was closely linked precisely with the realization of the idea of the republic's autonomy. This was discussed at the president's meeting with the Yakut leadership in Government House. There he declared categorically: "What is extracted here must also be maximally assimilated here. Unfortunately, there used to be the conviction and the practice that the Yakuts cannot independently assimilate their own riches. But just during the year since the president's corresponding edict appeared, they have proved that they can successfully extract gold, silver, and diamonds, process them, and make fine precious things. The republic must be given more economic autonomy."

Obviously, Yeltsin is trying to use the example of Yakutia to work out a pilot model for the management of multinational Russia with due regard for the new realities—the existence of the Federation Treaty and the endowing of the components of the Federation with real economic and political autonomy. Why was Yakutia chosen for this? Above all, because of its incalculable natural wealth. Also, more than 70 percent of those who voted in the referendum in Yakutia supported the president.

In addition, Yeltsin has recently formed a trusting relationship with Nikolayev, and this factor also means a great deal: The Russian president now needs to seek support among the republics' leaders. In short, the enumerated circumstances predetermined this visit. The advice given to journalists at the start—not to seek politics here—is most likely accounted for by the fact that Yeltsin is somewhat uncertain and therefore reluctant to show hia hand for the time being.

Chernomyrdin Visits Tatarstan Diesel Plant

LD2106163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012 GMT 21 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Naberezhnye Chelny June 21 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has begun his tour of Tatarstan by visiting a diesel engine plant of the Kamaz Joint Stock Society.

In April, 1993 the plant was practically destroyed as a result of a fire. At present, restoration works are being carried out at the plant round the clock. By July 10, managers of the Kamaz plant hope to complete repair works and install new equipment so that the plant resume the production of engines by September 1.

The Russian prime minister intends to hold a conference with managers of the joint stock society to resolve problems impeding the restoration of the plant in the shortest possible time.

Chechnya Introduces Entry Visas

LD2106132593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy June 21 TASS—President Dzhokhar Dudayev of Chechnya introduced entry visas on Monday [21 June]. Now each visitor has to inform the local Foreign Ministry about his trip to the republics in ten days.

Dudayev also ordered to toughen customs control.

Armed units loyal to Dudayev control the capital of Groznyy. The criminal police and the public order departments recently created to replace the Security Ministry have been given the right to search people and cars in any place and time.

All weapons in the republic which were allowed by Dudayev himself are to be reregistered.

Sales of spirits and tobacco are now allowed only in specialised shops. A market place in downtown Groznyy has been closed.

Ingush President Appeals for Calm, Vigilance

LD2106155093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun—Ingush President Ruslan Aushev has appealed to the citizens of that republic not to yield to rumors and provocation, but to remain calm and vigilant. An address to the people by the president, circulated in Nazran today, states that the purpose of the effort to worsen the situation in Northern Ossetia and stir up an anti-Ingush campaign is to wreck the accords reached earlier on the problems of refugees and displaced persons in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone.

Incoming reports suggest that the situation in the Ingush Republic itself remains calm.

Khuseyn Barakhoyev, the Ingush president's press secretary, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent in a telephone conversation: "We are not organizing hysterical rallies, nor are we steering people toward murder and hostage-taking. Thus far, we have been hoping to solve this most difficult problem of ours by peaceful methods alone." He said Ruslan Aushev supports the proposal of the Russian

State Committee for Nationalities Policy that it meet the Northern Ossetia leadership in Moscow on Wednesday. Khuseyn Barakhoyev said the Ingush president is ready to take every measure to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict peacefully and to establish stability and calm in the region.

Ingush Refugees Seek Return to North Ossetia

LD2006140693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz June 20 TASS—The return of ethnic Ingush refugees to North Ossetia is currently the most sensitive problem facing the republic's authorities. The temporary administration head, Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin, visited on Sunday [20 June] North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy District. According to Vladimir Ugrevatov, a member of the temporary administration negotiating team, "the sides have failed so far to reach any concrete agreement" despite the numerous meetings they held.

Applications from some 16,000 ethnic Ingushis wishing to return to their homes were accepted, of which 11,000 have already been examined. Ugrevatov thinks it necessary to hold a tripartite meeting in the near future with participation of the temporary administration with an aim to coordinate further actions for resolving the present differences.

As was already reported, Russian president Boris Yeltsin instructed the Russian Government to come up by July 1 with proposals on complex solution of the problem of refugees and forced migrants on the territories of Ingushetia and North Ossetia, proceeding from the agreements reached in Kislovodsk on March 20, 1993.

Conference on Supplying Far North Opens in Krasnoyarsk

LD1906131993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0309 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Khots]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, 19 Jun—An all-Russian conference on supplies to the far north and areas of equivalent status opened in Krasnoyarsk today. Representatives of republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous okrugs whose interests lie within this problem are taking part in it.

In his opening speech, Russian Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov said that the state of affairs with delivering products to the north this year was alarming. Several concrete documents were adopted to improve the situation that has evolved recently, inter alia, an instruction of the president to abolish pre-payment for supplied goods and products to northern regions. Beneficial credits for supplies were allocated. A decision was taken to charter foreign ships for delivering oil products to these regions.

The conference in Krasnoyarsk will analyze the causes of the situation that has evolved and outline a plan of joint actions of federal bodies and local authorities to resolve problems with supplies to Russian northern regions.

International Affairs

Ambassador to Russia on Black Sea Fleet Talks

LD2106184693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1530 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Kryzhanovskiy's comments recorded in Russian, fading to English translation]

[Text] Last week's negotiations between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents ended in what the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev described as a number of breakthroughs. Both heads of state and many diplomats, including the Ukrainian Ambassador to Russia Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy, have said they were satisfied with the results of the Russian-Ukrainian summit. This is what the Ukrainian ambassador told Radio Moscow reporter Lyudmila Belichenko.

[Kryzhanovskiy] I see the results as positive. In general, I learned about them with great relief. The presidents managed to come to terms after all. As you may remember, there have been very serious differences between Russia and Ukraine. Several rounds of talks led to a little success. All hopes were pinned on the ability of the two presidents to compromise. On the eve of the summit there was much speculation to the effect that the Ukrainian president was cornered by the economic and political crisis in Ukraine, and that his Russian counterpart, Boris Yeltsin, would try to take advantage of this. However, the results of the talks are evidence that the agreements were concluded by equitable partners. Russia avoided capitalizing on Ukrainian problems, President Leonid Kravchuk himself noted with great satisfaction. Moreover, the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, made it quite clear that he supported the Ukrainian president and was aware of how complicated the situation in Ukraine was. At the same time he said that Ukraine was a traditional and stable partner of Ukraine, and that Russia was interested in stability in Ukraine.

[Belichenko] The division of the Black Sea Fleet and the formation of the Russian and Ukrainian fleets [words indistinct], was one of the central topics discussed. It was agreed that the fleet will be divided in half. Senior military are not very enthusiastic about that article of the agreement. The first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, Admiral Igor Kasatonov, is for a unified fleet and unified command. He fears that the division of the fleet would upset the combat readiness of ships and units, and make control of our fleet more complicated.

[Kryzhanovskiy] I believe that such statements by naval officers only complicate the situation. It is two countries—Ukraine and Russia—that need their own fleets on the Black Sea, and not the Black Sea that needs Russia and Ukraine. It might seem that it is Russia and Ukraine are attached to the Black Sea Fleet, and not the other way round. I am perfectly aware of the complicated and ambiguous position of naval officers and men, but one has to admit that two independent sovereign friendly states are a reality, and everything must be done to divide their common asset—the Black Sea Fleet—without quarrelling. This is the main objective. The new army units of either country should at once hoist appropriate flags. What we have now must be divided, with a certain deadline set by the presidents, that is 1995. That will be the job of a special Russian-Ukrainian commission.

[Belichenko] At their meeting the Russian and Ukrainian presidents brought up other questions concerning bilateral relations. It is common knowledge that everybody is concerned about the future of nuclear arms in Ukraine.

[Kryzhanovskiy] There was certain progress on the issue of nuclear arms. The Russian president stated clearly and firmly Russia's readiness to give the guarantees of its security to Ukraine before it joins the START-I Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and Non-nuclear Proliferation Treaty. The guarantees will become effective as soon as Ukraine ratifies both treaties, and the countries must guarantee their mutual security.

[Belichenko] The agreement concluded by the presidents is to undergo ratification in the parliaments of Russia and Ukraine. How does ambassador Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy, a member of the Ukrainian parliament, see the future of the agreement?

[Kryzhanovskiy] The agreement will have no easy future. In Ukraine and Russia there are quite a few people who have either retained Bolshevik mentalitiy or are just wishful thinkers who are unable to take a realistic look at what is going on. I believe the agreement will be met with criticism, and the progress of ratification will be not an easy one. One thing is clear to me: Both Russia and Ukraine have to find their feet, both economically and politically. We must help each other learn to compromise in order to achieve a better future in the interests of our people. After all, it is for the sake of a better future and not state symbols that (?were campaigned) for independence. I'm happy that the presidents of Ukraine and Russia were unanimous in their desire to foster equitable ties and partnership between their countries.

Crimean Leader Notes 'Step Forward'

LD1806211893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov for TASS]

[Text] Simferopol June 18 TASS—Everyone in the Crimea pinned great hopes on the Russian-Ukrainian summit on the Black Sea fleet issue, Crimean Parliament Head Nikolay Bagrov told a news conference here today.

"I had greater hopes before the summit, although I understood it would be very difficult to find an optimum solution to all the problems. The Crimean parliament adopted a special resolution on its stand on the Black Sea fleet problems on the eve of the extraordinary session.

"The majority of deputies called for the preservation at this stage of the fleet as a single unit necessary to ensure safety of Russia and Ukraine. However, a decision to divide the fleet was taken.

"At the same time, the negotiations took into account interests of the Crimea and Sevastopol and gave, although partial, solution to social problems of servicemen and their families.

"People working at enterprises, which fulfill the seamen's orders, are guaranteed jobs till the end of 1995, since the negotiations confirmed the plants will continue to be the technical basis of the Black Sea fleet. There is time to implement a program of their conversion.

"Thus, a step forward has been made, and now it is time to search for an optimum solution to the topical problem to be acceptable to all," said Bagrov.

Debt to Russia From Fossil Fuel Deliveries Cited

PM2106120793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Ukraine Owes Russia Almost 600 Billion Rubles"]

[Text] The newspaper KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI has reported the precise figures of Ukraine's debts to Russia for oil, gas, and petroleum products. As of 1 June, the debts totaled 572.2 billion rubles (74.3 billion clearing karbovantsi). This data has been obtained from the State Committee for Oil and Gas.

In business relations between states, the newspaper writes, it is customary to repay debts. But how, if the anarchy of internal nonpayments is tearing Ukraine apart? The total debt from its own fellow citizens and enterprises now stands at more than 500 billion karbovantsi.

Crimean Germans Seek Aid for Resettlement

LD2106124793 Hamburg DPA in German 1116 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Simferopol/Crimea (DPA)—The organization of Russian Germans in the Crimea, part of "Rebirth," is calling for help from Bonn and Kiev to settle up to 15,000 ethnic Germans on the peninsula. It is reported that at the "Day of German Culture" in Simferopol yesterday, Hugo Schaufeler, chairman of the Crimea "Rebirth" organization, presented plans for a building project for three German villages. A "German House" to serve as a cultural center is already under construction in Simferopol.

About 2,600 ethnic Germans live in the Crimea at the moment. The German Government accepted the peninsula as one of a number of possible resettlement areas for Russian Germans in the south of Ukraine because of the preparations already undertaken there. Ukraine wants to limit the influx of Germans to those who were deported from there in 1941, but Bonn hopes to find a new home for other Russian Germans too.

Members of "Rebirth" in the Crimea accuse Schaufeler of having spent too much money on the settlement project and too little on the cultural interests of the Germans who already live there.

Documents on Hungarian Treaty Exchanged

LD2106175593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] An exchange of documents on the ratification of a treaty on principles of good neighborliness and cooperation between Ukraine and the Hungarian Republic has taken place in Hungary's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

National Affairs

Interior Ministry Updates Miners' Strike

WS2206092993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Kiev—According to the Ukrainian Interior Ministry, as of 0700, 21 June, the strike is continuing at seven coal mines in Donetsk Oblast and 31 in Lugansk Oblast. In Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, all of the 11 coal and 15 of 17 iron ore mines are on strike, while in Volhyn Oblast, three out of seven mines are on strike. Also on strike are the employees of the cargo car department at the Pavlograd railroad station, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, belonging to the Sub-Dnieper Railroads. At its meeting devoted to the strikes in western Donbass, the strike coordination committee of the Pavlohradvuhillya production amalgamation, Pavlograd, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, decided to temporarily halt the protest until 1 July. However, the pre-strike state will be retained at all the enterprises until the adoption of legal acts in compliance with the protocol of the inter-oblast Coordination Council of 18 June. On 21 June, 2,000 coal miners will hold a meeting in Krasnodon, Lugansk Oblast. Another meeting of coal miners and employees of other enterprises is scheduled for 21 June, at 0900, in Lisichansk.

Independent Trade Unions Still Strike

LD2106182793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1057 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk, 21 Jun—Ukraine's independent miners' trade unions are currently trying to continue their strike. Despite the accord reached in principle during negotiations between the government commission and the interregional and inter-branch strike coordinating council, the leaders of independent miners' trade unions in a number of towns in Donetsk oblast again started to stir up passions on Saturday by putting forward new

demands relating for the most part to local problems, such as for the the disbandment of the town councils and the removal of the general directors of a number of coalmining associations. What was a general strike has thus very much become a strike in different branches of the industry in a number of towns today.

According to information an ITAR-TASS correspondent received from reliable sources, over 200 of Ukraine's 250 mines were working in full swing yesterday. Experts say this prolonged strike has cost Ukraine 450 billion karbovantsi.

The strike has been suspended, but today work has still not resumed at 10 mines in Donetsk oblast and at 30 mines in Lugansk oblast. Rallies have ceased in most towns in southeast Ukraine, but the situation remains tense and the strike could be resumed if points in the agreement signed by the coordinating council and the government commission are not fulfilled. It is this situation that the leaders of the Independent Trade Union of Miners are trying to use to solve their own local problems and at the same time reinforce their authority, which has recently been on the wane.

Coal Mines in Lugansk on Strike

LD2106173493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] The strike continued in 40 out of 90 mines in Lugansk oblast this morning. Collectives of the Lisichansk Vuhillya, Pervomaysk Vuhillya, and Krasnodon Vuhillya associations did not go to work. Miners from the remaining mines went to work.

Striking miners do not agree with the protocol decisions of agreed measures signed by the Oblast Coordinating Council of Striking Enterprises and a commission of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers. Miners are also coming out in support of the reelection of the Inter-oblast Coordinating Council that conducted the negotiations with the government commission.

Donbass Coal Strike Called Off

LD2206135793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] The Donbass coal miners' strike was called off after the government delegation negotiated an agreement with the strikers. The overall situation in the Donbass industrial region is reported to be gradually normalizing, though the coal miners keep a watchful eye on the Verkhovna Rada's and government's moves.

Cabinet Session Discusses Demands

LD2106184193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1413 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Jun (UKRINFORM)—The trade unions are right to defend the interests of the strikers. This is their prime duty, but if all one does today is demand, strike, and stage confrontation, then life will get even worse, according to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. "Neither I nor the premier have billions. Those demanding them from the government are pushing those in power into a corner," he stressed at the Cabinet of Ministers meeting held today under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

The president, the premier, and the ministers focused most of their attention on the settlement of the strikers' demands. The course of negotiations with the strike committees, the strikers' interregional intersectoral coordinating committee, and the strikers' demands was comprehensively discussed. In his report on the negotiations First Deputy Premier Efim Zvyagilskiy noted that the current wave of strikes is caused by the dire financial state of enterprises due to nonpayments, lack of necessary equipment and spare parts, the breakdown of links and mutual payments, the increase in prices, and lack of cash. One-third of the negotiation time, he noted, is spent on discussion of the issue of raising the minimum wage for those employed. Efim Zvyagilskiy proposed raising it from 22,400 to 40,000 karbovantsi, and taking a number of other urgent measures to upgrade living standards and stabilize the economy in the industrial regions. "A mean man pays twice," he remarked.

No, it is not a matter of being mean, but of us being poor, noted other speakers. The budget has long been coming apart at the seams, there are no means even for the bare necessities. Meanwhile, every day of the strike causes an additional loss of 14 billion karbovantsi. "I am opposed to populist solutions," declared Leonid Kuchma in this connection. "They will lead to even greater impoverishment of the people."

The meeting pointed out the need to take tight control over the pricing system and circulating capital, not to restrict the growth of wages but to raise them with increased production at the enterprise, to regulate consumption funds relying on the realities at hand, to improve the social conditions of mineworkers, ore extractors, and the workers of related sectors, and to adopt a program for development of the coal industry.

The Cabinet met some of the strikers' demands. However, the main demands will be discussed additionally with the strike coordinating council and submitted at the next government meeting, which will be held on 23 June.

The Cabinet also examined a number of draft laws of Ukraine and draft government resolutions.

Kravchuk Revokes Decree on Economic Stabilization

LD2106165093 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1334 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Decree on revoking the decree by President Leonid Krachuk of 16 June 1993, No. 215, "On Urgent Measures To Stabilize the Economic and Political Situation in Ukraine"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Aiming at a more complete definition and the proper functioning of relations between the president of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministries, and other central bodies of state executive power, based on the principles of Article 114-1, clauses 1-1, 3-1, and 4; Article 97; and Part One of Article 117 of Ukraine's Constitution, for the period until the adoption of the law on the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and taking account of the proposals on these issues by people's deputies of Ukraine, members of Ukraine's Government and experts on state affairs, I resolve: To revoke the decree by the president of Ukraine of 16 June 1993, No. 215, "On Urgent Measures to Stabilize the Economic and Political Situation in Ukraine."

This decree takes effect from the date of issue.

[Signed] President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk
[Dated] Kiev, 21 June 1993

Labor Party Criticizes Government's Economic Policy

LD2106211593 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1611 GMT 21 Jun 93

[by UKRINFORM correspondent Mykhaylo Melnyk]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Labor Party [Partiya Pratsi] believes that Ukraine's leadership has provoked the socioeconomic tension in the state. It could have been avoided had the government's course agreed with the economic tasks. This was declared at a press conference in Kiev on 21 June.

Acting Party Chairman Mykola Azarov told representatives of the media about the reasons for the party's formation, its basic policy principles, and its relations with other public organizations. The Labor Party stands for a new system of economic relations which would comprise all forms of ownership, as well as for active functioning of Ukraine's economy in a common economic space of the former USSR countries.

The press conference organizers emphasized that they support the miners' demands and favor holding a Ukraine-wide referendum on confidence in the president and the Supreme Council.

New Nuclear Association Registered With Justice Ministry

WS2206092893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Justice Ministry registered one more independent scientific and technical organization—the Ukrainian Nuclear Association (UkrYaT) [Ukrayinske Yaderne Tovarystvo]. The principal purpose of the organization is to consolidate the interests of the workers employed at the atomic power stations and in the uranium-mining industry as well as to provide conditions for nuclear and radiation security. Its immediate task is to draft a program of enhancing security at the national AES [atomic power station] and develop Ukrainian nuclear power engineering. The headquarters of the association, headed by general manager of the Khmelnytsky AES, Viktor Sapronov, is based in Odessa.

Belarus

Ambassador to Russia Says Belarus Wants Neutral Status

LD1806151593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1305 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—"We wish to obtain the status of a neutral state, and not to be a member of any military alliances," Viktor Danilenko, ambassador of Belarus to Russia, said. "The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus is preparing documents which, if adopted, will exclude the use of the national armed forces on the territory of other states, and stationing and deployment of other countries' troops on our territory will be possible only after a parliamentary decision," the ambassador said in an interview with the "ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" newspaper published today.

"Everything is evolving in such a way that decisions will not only be made but also implemented," Viktor Danilenko noted commenting on the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

"A coordinating-consultative committee of the Commonwealth has been set up and an executive secretary has been appointed. A decision has been made on a programme for preparing draft documents on the further strengthening of the Commonwealth. A candidature of a chairman of the Economic Court of the Commonwealth has been approved," he noted. The Belarusian ambassador believes that disputes are not to be feared as they bring about "reasonable compromises".

"Belarus agrees to all reasonable proposals. But the only thing we do not agree with is that everything is going ahead too slowly," the ambassador pointed out. "The head of parliament of Belarus has signed all documents of the may meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state," he said. According to Viktor Danilenko, the Belarusian Parliament has decided to "sign a document on the republic becoming a party to the system of collective security. It will probably be necessary to hold a referendum so as to ratify the document by nationwide vote."

We live in the center of civilised Europe and are open to all, the ambassador said. The republic is taking up a serious project which envisages the construction of an international motorway Paris—Warsaw—Brest—Minsk—Smolensk—Moscow. The "Dornie" German firm is engaged in reconstructing the Brest rail junction—the "crossroads of Europe."

Public Wants Neutral Status

WS2106122293 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1516 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "Social Democratic Assembly Opposes Joining Military Union"]

[Text] On 16 June, at the Supreme Soviet press conference, People's Deputy Oleg Trusov, chairman of the Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly, reported that the Belarusian Supreme Soviet has received some 2,0000 letters supporting Stanislav Shushkevich's stance regarding nonmembership in the CIS military union. The authors of the letters favor a neutral, nonnuclear Belarus.

According to O. Trusov, two [as received] issues—on collective security in Shushkevich's formulation, on a no-confidence motion on the present government and legislature, and on holding early elections—should be brought to the all-Republican referendum.

People's Deputy Oleg Trusov declared: "In the event that the Belarusian people oppose the idea of Belarus entering the CIS joint security system, the acting government should resign.

Economic Agreement Signed With Latvia

LD1806225493 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1800 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Economic relations between Belarus and Latvia will now have an agreement basis. The document that was signed yesterday by Uladzimir Kandratenka, deputy chairman of the State Economic Planning Committee of the Republic of Belarus, and Yanis Lovniks, Latvian ambassador to Minsk, is designed to strengthen the traditional links between the two states.

In accordance with this document, Latvia is prepared to cooperate with Belarus in the trade and fishery spheres. It is possible that Latvia will let our republic take part in sharing the ports. Thus, Belarus now has [official] access to the Baltic Sea. As before, but now on more profitable conditions, Latvia will supply Belarus with sea products and the famous automobiles "RAF".

Mexican Ambassador Advocates Economic Cooperation

LD1706204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1821 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Lyushkevich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk June 17 TASS—Mexico is interested in economic cooperation with Belarus, Mexican ambassador to Belarus Carlos Tello said on Thursday [17 June] after he presented credentials to Belarussian parliament head Stanislav Shushkevich. The Mexican ambassador noted that there are agreements with different ministries of Belarus and the committee for foreign economic ties. However, the Mexican side would like to define, first of all, its juridicial basis to establish solid and perspective relations.

According to the ambassador, Mexico is interested in cooperation in other fields. The Belarusian Foreign

Ministry and the Ministry of Education held previous talks on the possibility of the joint decision of different questions.

Moldova

Ministry Demands 'Complete' Withdrawal of Russian Troops

AU1706161693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0821 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 17/6/1993—In connection with the speech made by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, at the meeting of the executive of Russia's Defense Ministry, the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Moldova has issued a statement reiterating the stand of the Chisinau officials regarding the undelayed, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the foreign armed forces from Moldova's territory, consistent with the documents of the CSCE and other international organizations. The idea launched by President Boris Yeltsin regarding the possibility of creating Russian military bases in the territories of some former Soviet republics, the statement reads, is unacceptable, in any form, for the Republic of Moldova. But it welcomes the second variant advanced by Boris Yeltsin, regarding the presence of the Russian military forces abroad: "the withdrawal of the Russian Armies from all countries" that were formerly components of the defunct USSR. It is an opportune and realistic proposal, serving both the interests of the Republic of Moldova and of the Russian Federation, the statement reads. In this respect, the signing in a near future of a Moldovan-Russian agreement on the undelayed and unconditional withdrawal of the Russian military forces from Moldova's territory will help not only the political settlement of the conflict in Moldova's eastern districts but also the further development of the good relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation, reads the statement quoted by MOLDOVA PRES.

Clinton's Senate Report Contains 'Grave Error'

AU1806154693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2053 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 17/6/1993—Yesterday evening, an open session of the Committee for Freedom of Speech took place, where parliamentary journalists from Moldova participated. The session was caused by the expectation of the adoption of the law concerning the press and the situation of two Parliaments' newspapers which were sanctioned by the leaders of the republic. Ion Hadarca, the ex-vice-president of Parliament categorically gave his option for press denationalisation, pointing out the deplorable state of freedom of speech. The quoted source stated that the report of President Bill Clinton, which was presented last week to the American Senate, contains a grave error. Clinton affirmed that the small area of freedom of speech in Moldova is increasing, which is not true. Vlad Pascaru, the vice-president of the Parliamentary Commission for Mass Media, proposed to the Committee of Freedom of Speech to work out a project involving to be examined in the Parliament of the Moldova. The participants in the session stressed that there is no legislative framework and solidarity amongst journalists which would permit the promotion of the principles of freedom of speech. It was also mentioned that the press law should be completed by an article which states that the patrimony of the editorial office should remain as the property of the editorial staff in the process of denationalisation.

External Debt Exceeds $91 Million

LD1706195093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Moldova's external debt exceeds $91 million, the finance minister stated today in the parliament. Observers note that Moldova's debt to western countries, calculated in rubles [R], is almost equivalent to this republic's current debt to Russia, that to-date has reached more than R100 trillion.

Tajikistan

Armed Groups Continue 'Provocative Action' on Afghan Border

LD1806184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridnyeva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Jun—According to information received by the republic's State Committee for National Security, armed formations of opposition forces are continuing to concentrate along virtually the entire line of the Tajik-Afghan border on the Afghan side. In spite of repeated notes of protest and statements by the Tajik Government, its territory is being fired on daily from the Afghan side and various kinds of provocative action are being undertaken.

Last night on the line of the Pyandzh border detachment, an armed group tried to cross the Pyandzh River on two rafts. As a result of prompt and active steps taken by border troops, the rafts were sunk. The Russian border troops did not suffer any losses. In order to stop the armed actions, subdivisions of Russian troops stationed on the republic's territory are being moved up into the districts where, on Afghan territory, there is the greatest concentration of irregulars. Subdivisions of the Defense Ministry and battalions of special forces of the Tajik Interior Ministry are also being moved up.

The border itself is also being reinforced. A contingent from Kazakhstan's Defense Ministry, that has arrived in Tajikistan, has started guarding the southern frontiers of the CIS.

Supreme Court Bans Opposition Parties

LD2106120693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1146 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe June 21 TASS—The Tajik Supreme Court banned opposition parties in the country on Monday [21 June] for attempts of a state coup.

It said in its ruling after considering a request of the prosecutor general to suspend the activities of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Islamic Party of Revival and the Popular "Rastokhez" movement, that the organisations have been found guilty of violating their own programmes and charters, of attempting to overthrow the constitutional system, of taking legislators hostage, instigating ethnic strife which led to a civil war and thousands of casualties, of creating armed units.

The Justice Ministry was instructed to cancel the registration documents of the parties and confiscate their property.

Earlier the leaders of the opposition parties, as well as of the "Ladi Badakhshon" society and the paramilitary "Homeland Defence" organisation were sentenced in absence on the same charges.

However, the court ruled that rank-and-file members of the opposition organisations cannot be sued for belonging to the parties.

Procurator General on Ban

LD2106144993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] The Supreme Court of the Republic of Tajikistan today concluded deliberations on a civil case to ban the activities of the Islamic Rebirth Party, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Rastokhez Popular Movement, and the Lali Badakhshan Society. Here is a report by our correspondent Mirzoahmad Jurayev:

[Jurayev] The Supreme Court of the Republic today concluded the assessment of a civil case to ban the activities of opposition parties and organizations. The (?decision) of the court, read out by Supreme Court member Sabzali Rahmonov, banned the activities of the Islamic Rebirth Party, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, and the Rastokhez and Lali Badakhshan organizations in the Republic.

At the court I spoke to Muhammadnazar Solihov, procurator general of the Republic, on the subject. I asked what made him, as procurator general of the Republic, to ask the court to ban the activities of the Islamic Rebirth Party, the Democratic Party, and the Rastokhez and Lali Badakhshan organizations.

[Begin recording] [Solihov] Following the restoration of the constitutional government at the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan in the historic city of Khojand, the procurator of the Republic, in accordance with the available information, compared the activities of the aforementioned parties and organizations with their charters and programs and with the current laws. It was found that they have violated their charters and programs.

A proposal was sent to the Supreme Court of Tajikistan on banning these parties and organizations. It should be noted that these parties and organizations violated the demands of Paragraph 2, Article 4 of the law of the Republic of Tajikistan on social organizations, which does not allow the establishment of military organizations. These parties and organizations established the homeland salvation front. Apart from this [words indistinct], they took people's deputies hostage and committed [words indistinct] which led to fratricidal war on the territory of the Republic.

[Jurayev] Today the Supreme Court of the Republic, at your recommendation, ruled to ban these parties and organizations. Won't this disrupt the process of democratization in the Republic?

[Solihov] In my summation at the Supreme Court of the Republic, I noted that the aim of our government is to

build a law- based democratic and secular state. Banning the activities of these parties and organizations does not mean (?diluting) democracy. It is possible for parties and organizations to be formed and to function in our country in conformity with the laws of the Republic. Similarly, members of the banned parties can become members of these organizations.

[Jurayev] Most of the leaders of the aforementioned parties and organizations are carrying out their activities outside the borders of the Republic. With the banning of the activities of these parties and organizations, can their leaders [words indistinct]?

[Solihov] The ruling of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Tajikistan on banning the activities of these parties and organizations makes their leaders and members legally bound not to act on behalf of these banned organizations. Also, according to information from the procurator's office, criminal proceedings have begun and are continuing against people like Shodmon Yusuf [president of Democratic Party of Tajikistan], Tahir Abdujabbor [chairman of Rastokhez], Himmatzoda [president of the Islamic Rebirth Party], Atobek Amirbek [chairman of Lali Badakhshan], and others.

[Jurayev] Thank you. [end recording]

Government Presents Economic Revival Program

LD2206085993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0825 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By TIA "Khovar" correspondent Negmat Ochilov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 22 Jun—A package of measures to stabilize, revive, and lift the national economy is proposed in a government program, the text of which was circulated today by the Tajik news agency "Khovar". Its first stage covers the period 1993-95, defined as the period of stabilization. It sets the objective of clearing the aftermath of the armed conflict and natural disasters. The government is forced to embark on taking a number of fundamental decisions which will lead to a certain fall in the standard of living of some categories of citizens, primarily those on relatively high incomes. These acts will concern pricing policy, tightening the credit and monetary system, and reducing the state budget deficit. Particular attention is expected to be paid to the agro-industrial complex, the power industry, and the textile industry.

The second stage of the program is 1995-97, when the private sector in the form of small and medium-scale business is to provide a competitive environment on the domestic market.

A long-term stage in the economic reform program will begin in 1998. Its key task will be the active reconstruction of the economy, which will be based on the possibility of flexible redistribution of labor resources and capital in the sphere of the national economy.

Government To Protect Foreign Investors' Property

LD2106121193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1055 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By KHOVAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Zhukov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe June 21 TASS—"The Tajik economy has a clear-cut orientation and Tajik leaders have repeatedly declared that we are going to the market. A different matter is a pace and methods, tactics and the starting potential of the transition," said Tajik Economics Minister Ismail Davlatov at a news conference in connection with the preparations for the Tajik-American economic symposium.

The Tajik minister pointed out that foreign businessmen and investors who want to cooperate with Tajikistan, "have nothing to be afraid. The protection of their property will be fully guaranteed and the Tajik economy is sufficiently open for their activities," the minister said.

Davlatov said that a programme of economic development of the republic and its transition to market relations has been practically completed and would be published in the next few days. The programme was worked out jointly with U.S. experts.

Armenia

Yerevan Denies Offensive Under Way in Azerbaijan

LD1906151893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1448 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 19 TASS—Armenia denied Azeri allegations about combat activities of Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces in the Agdam region of Azerbaijan and expressed concern over possible negative consequences of Azeri internal developments on the peaceful process in Karabakh.

Presidential spokesman Aram Abramyan said on Saturday that Azeri reports about the liberation of villages in Agdam region earlier seized by Karabakh forces are misinformation.

"In reality no Azeri settlements were seized and, consequently, were not liberated," he told TASS.

He said that Yerevan is "concerned by attempts of Baku to distort the real state of affairs in the zone of conflict" and added that this is being done by authorities of Azerbaijan in order to drop their obligations regarding the settlement of the Karabakh crisis and achieve internal political goals.

The Armenian leadership fears that instability in Azerbaijan may tell on the CSCE peaceful process and confirms its adherence to the peace plan for Karabakh proposed by nine countries of the CSCE Minsk group, according to the spokesman.

Iran's Envoy Urges 'Self-Restraint' Toward Azerbaijan

LD2006174493 Tehran IRNA in English 1718 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, June 20, IRNA—Iran's charge d'affaires here, Ahmad Sobhani, today called on Armenia to exercise self-restraint towards the internal developments in the neighbouring Republic of Azerbaijan. In separate meetings with the two Armenian vice- presidents, Gagik Arutyunyan and Ashut Manuchehryan, he outlined the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this regard.

The Armenian officials praised Iran's regional policy and said that they will inform Karabakh officials of the Iranian position. They stressed that the Azeri side should also not follow a provocative policy against Armenians.

Britain's Cox Meets Bagratyan, Leaves for Moscow

NC2106175693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1344 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Yerevan, June 21 (SNARK)—Today the Armenian Prime [Minister] Grant Bagratyan has met with the vice speaker of the House of Lords of the British Parliament Caroline Cox. She has come to Yerevan after her 16th visit to Karabakh. Head of the Armenian Government has appreciated the humanitarian aid Caroline Cox is always offering to the Karabakh people. He has also expressed his anxiety with the fact that the international community, in particular Great Britain, does no attempts to contribute to deblockading Armenia, though Armenia has already given positive response to the initiatives of the CSCE Minsk group on the peaceful regulation of the conflict. Caroline Cox has mentioned that she was the witness of the military actions escalation of the Azerbaijani Army against Nagorno-Karabakh that is the violation of those obligations Azerbaijan promised to follow. Grant Bagratyan has mentioned that the UK Embassy should be opened in Yerevan to give the opportunity to be aware of the situation existing the region. Caroline Cox has expressed her agreement and promised to open the question in the British Parliament. Today Cox has left Armenia for Moscow.

President Talks With Opposition Leaders

MK1806115093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 3

[Armen Khanbabyan report: "President Asks Opposition for Support, but Is Prepared To Do Without it"]

[Text] The date 16 June marks a signal event in Armenia's political life. On that day President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received leaders of the country's two main opposition parties: the Ramkavar-azatakan (Liberal Democrats,) and the Dashnaktsutyun. The first to visit the president were the Liberal Democrats. The state leader talked with them, representatives of a constructive opposition, in sufficiently mild terms. Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated that having received consent from the people of Karabakh to a CSCE peacemaking initiative, both Armenia and Karabakh entered a peaceful stage in their development. He underscored that this had been achieved thanks to the Karabakh people's unflinching staunchness and the colossal deprivations that descended on Armenia's inhabitants in recent years. "We," stated the president, "at least did not lose the war, and now it depends on us whether the new opportunity is to be used for the good." Therefore, Ter-Petrosyan thinks, it is necessary that all political forces of the republic make sure of where they stand and not drag their feet in assessing what happened. The president would like to see Liberal Democrats among supporters of the authorities' efforts to achieve peace, but he also explained that this goal would be achieved anyway, even if a majority of politicians in Armenia would prefer to watch from the sidelines or even try to be in the way.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan then sharply condemned Dashnaktsutyun, revealing some rather curious facts. It has come to light, for example, that Georgiy Petrosyan, a member of this party's leadership and the former Karabakh leader, had long held a peacemaking stance; his activities were being hampered, however, from the Athens headquarters. More, Georgiy Petrosyan stated at a meeting with Armenian and Karabakh leaders in Goris that without fail he would sign a cease-fire plan-schedule only to receive a threat of physical

violence one hour after that. "This indeed forced the courageous Karabakh leader to resign," Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted, "but the process, happily, is under way."

The president believes that it is the duty of all constructive forces today to support the new Karabakh leaders who are aware of the scope of their responsibility, but who do not avoid risk. "There indeed is risk," the president admitted, "and not a small one." He gave to understand that pressure from the great powers had left the Armenian side no other choice. At the same time the presidents of the United States, Russia, and France guaranteed that the security of Karabakh's population would be ensured. Therefore, Yerevan and Stepanakert decided to take a risk in a bid to stop the old conflict. The authorities would indeed not like to end up in political isolation in this matter.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan was more harsh talking with Dashnaktsutyun leaders. He thought that the Dashnaks had done all they could to prevent the establishment of an independent Armenian statehood and a just solution to the Karabakh issue. "If you do not wish to help your people, then at least do not oppose the objective processes," Levon Ter-Petrosyan said. "Stop the immoral campaign in your press; do not portray things as if Armenia has crushed Karabakh and made it sign the treaty."

Ter-Petrosyan promised that the Armenian people would cope with all the difficulties, and build a law-governed state despite the Dashnak policy. But should the Dashnaks wish to alter their approach, the authority is ready to cooperate with them now.

Leaders of both parties were not prepared for a discussion like that, and while the Liberal Democrat leader Ruben Mirzakhanyan only responded that they continue to campaign for a legal recognition of independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the member of the Dashnaktsutyun Central Committee, Vardan Akopyan, practically started making excuses, pleading that his party had too little information about the past to have a clear-cut position.

Any day now the Dashnak and Liberal Democrat press is going to indicate whether they are ready for cooperation—or yet another round of political confrontation in Armenia will begin.

Two New State Ministers Appointed

NC2106191193 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1327 GMT 18 Jun 92

[Text] With a decree signed by the Armenian president, Gagik Martirosyan has been relieved as construction minister and appointed state minister. Rafayel Bagoyan has been appointed state minister.

Azerbaijan

Further on National Assembly's 'Special Sitting'

NC2106104793 Baku TURAN in English 0949 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text) June 21, (TURAN)—Today at 12 oclock special sitting of Milli Mejlis began.

Opening the sitting, the chairman of Azerbaijan SS [Supreme Soviet] Geydar Aliyev said, that the cause of such special sitting was in the situation in the Republic continuing deteriorate and Surat Guseynov's units coming close to Baku.

Geydar Aliyev also reported, that he had phone talks with President Elchibey and asked him to come back to Baku without a fail. "But Abulfaz Elchibey said, that he wouldn't return until rebel forces are close to Baku", said Geydar Aliyev.

The chairman of SS addressed the deputates to express their point of view on this situation and to come to any decision on this matter.

At present deputates are discussing Geydar Aliyev's proposal.

Deputies Briefed on Guseynov, Armenia

NC2106143093 Baku TURAN in English 1309 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Ellipses as received]

[Text] Baku, June 21 (TURAN)—Some units of S. Guseynov's forces came up to the southern suburbs of Baku and took positions near the Shihov beach in spite of the agreed one week's moratorium on the armed troops advance to Baku. This disturbing news came at the National Assembly in ordinary session today at noon.

Rovshan Dzhavadov, the Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs, told members of parliament that another part of S. Guseynov's troops temporarily halted their advance from Shemakha and are at 78 kilometers from Baku. According to Mr. Dzhavadov, Surat Guseynov has enough forces at his disposal to enter the city. R. Dzhavador also underlined that ... the situation in Baku is very serious and can get out of control at any time. To his view, ... it is necessary to look for a political solution to the problem as soon as possible as tomorrow it might be too late.

Rovshan Dzhavadov also briefed the deputies on the Armenian troops advance saying ... the enemy intends to gain ground up to the Kura river. He pointed out that in this respect ... unfortunately there is nobody who has been paying attention to the ministry's prognoses on the Armenians intentions, which today have become reality.

The Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Rovshan Dzhavadov's judgment of the situation coincided with the views of

parliament's speaker Geydar Aliyev who defined the situation as ever deteriorating. The chamber's chairman underlined that the president's presence is essential in order to come to vital decisions which could stop the dangerous developments of the moment.

A number of telephone conversations by high officials with the president failed to clarify when Abulfaz Elchibey would return to Baku from his remote village. According to Geydar Aliyev and to deputy ministers for internal and foreign affairs, the presence of the president and the armed forces supreme commander is indispensable since ... he is unable to perform any leadership as long as he remains at such a distance.

Deputies Urge Guseynov To Fight Armenians

NC2106161093 Baku TURAN in English 1521 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 21 (TURAN)—Today Milli Mejlis approved an appeal to Surat Guseynov as well as an appeal to the president of the country. It was proposed by the deputy Sabir Rustamkhanly.

An appeal said that as a result of Gyandzha events a power crisis [words indistinct] appeared.

The deputies paid Guseynov's attention that Armenian Army used internal political situation took an offensive on Agdam and Agdere districts of Azerbaijan, a real threat to lose new Azeri territories emerged.

Milli Mejlis appraising high Guseynov's army experience and believing his patriotism appealed to unite all the forces to repulse the enemy. Milli Mejlis expressed confidence that Guseynov would confirm his army ability on the front.

Assembly Urges Elchibey's Return

NC2106175193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0925 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] According to Azerbaijan's Constitution and primary law, the republic's president is the head of the supreme executive authority, the head of the Council of Ministers, and the commander in chief of the Azerbaijani Armed Forces. The president is responsible for safeguarding the citizens' rights and [word indistinct] and maintaining the Constitution and law. He takes measures to protect and safeguard the republic's sovereignty and guarantee the maintenance of state security and territorial integrity. Further, he [words indistinct] state administration.

But President Abulfaz Elchibey's urgent departure from Baku to Kelepli in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic has created an obstacle to the practical solution of several problems, which relate to the Constitution and the law. By remaining in Kelepli, President Elchibey has severed his links with the other rayons in the republic. He has been unable to function as the president.

Considering this circumstance and the grave, tense situation in the republic, [words indistinct]. The National Assembly is convinced that President Abulfaz Elchibey must return to his office in Baku and exercise his constitutional powers. Considering this situation and the need to [words indistinct] relating to the social, political, and military situation following the incidents on 4 June 1993, and to obstruct the uninterrupted Armenian military attacks in Karabakh, Agdam, Agdere, and Fizuli, the Azerbaijani National Assembly has decided to appeal to President Elchibey to urge him to return to his office in Baku urgently.

Aliyev Sees No Coalition Without Elchibey

LD2106160793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1415 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Report by Lada Kokova, correspondent of the independent news agency KHARBAR-SERVIS, from Baku]

[Excerpts] An extraordinary session of the parliament was held in Baku today. Opening the meeting, Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev pointed out that the necessity for such a meeting is linked to the grave situation in the republic. This has been caused by a sharp aggravation of events in Gyandzha and the actions of the rebels of Surat Guseynov. He informed the deputies that there is no reshuffle of cadres taking place. A coalition is not being set up. This cannot be done without President Abulfaz Elchibey.

The speaker of the parliament also said that the president has no intention of returning to Baku until the rebel detachments of Surat Guseynov fall back from Baku. We should discuss today whether Abulfaz Elchibey is capable of leading the republic. If not, then we should undertake some actions, Geydar Aliyev said. [passage omitted]

According to Acting Interior Minister Rovshan Dzhavadov, the rebels are at present establishing contacts with criminal elements. As a result, the situation at the approaches to the capital of Azerbaijan could get out of control. He also pointed out that as head of the republic's Interior Ministry, he will guarantee the safety of the president after his arrival in Baku. [passage omitted]

Guseynov Claims 'Head of State' Powers

LD2106175293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Report on interview with Colonel Surat Guseynov, commander of the rebel forces and head of the Azerbaijani opposition, by correspondent Mais Mamedov in Gyandzha on 21 June; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Mamedov] In connection with the crisis of power in Azerbaijan, Colonel Surat Guseynov said today at a news conference in the town of Gyandzha: I take upon myself all the powers of the head of state and responsibility for the future of the republic. He described his march on Baku as a people's movement. His subunits are now 10 km from the republic's capital. He also described himself as an executor of the people's will.

Answering correspondents' questions regarding the possibility of a personal meeting with the president to settle the

conflict, Guseynov said that this is quite possible and added that Abulfaz Elchibey himself will never agree to this because Elchibey feels guilty. The colonel also claimed that he receives appeals from Baku residents and also requests to protect them from armed groupings and armed bands.

[Begin recording] [Mamedov] If you attempt to enter Baku, do you think this will lead to bloodshed?

[Guseynov] There will be no bloodshed in Baku. I take responsibility for this.

[Mamedov] What you are doing is illegal. Do you agree with this statement or not?

[Guseynov] I do not agree with this at all. This is a people's movement. The National Assembly should give a legal appraisal of the president's actions. The president has shed fraternal blood. He has violated the Constitution. I am an advocate of the Constitution, and I will act within the framework of the Constitution. [end recording]

[Baku TURAN in English at 1521 GMT on 21 June adds: "Today a press-conference of Surat Guseynov for local and foreign journalists was held in Gyandzha. At the press-conference Surat Guseynov declared that 'in the connection with power vacuum emerged because of the president absence I will take all the absolute power in my hands,' [words indistinct] Guseynov said. 'There is no such person who can be on my way'."]

Background, Profile of Surat Guseynov

NC1806133393 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 18 (AFP)—Colonel Surat Guseynov, 33, leader of the military rebellion that drove Azerbaijan's president Abulfaz Elchibey from office, bore a grudge against his chief.

Formerly a textile factory manager at Evlakh, Guseynov was an active member of Elchibey's Popular Front and won rapid promotion as an officer thanks to his militant nationalism. He was named commander of Azerbaijani troops in the Armenian-majority breakaway enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh and was the head of state's administrator there.

Guseynov was seen as a protege of then Defence Minister Rakhim Gaziyev, but was dragged down with the minister when he was accused late last year of trying to mount a coup. Guseynov was sacked from all his posts in February after defeats by Armenian forces. He was charged with treason for the loss of north Nagorno-Karabakh.

Denying that he alone was to blame, Guseynov felt he was the victim of an injustice and turned against Elchibey. He patiently began building up a rebellion in Azerbaijan's second city of Gyandzha, where he enjoyed great personal popularity.

The fall of the strategic region of Kelbadzhar between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh in April fuelled his cause, with thousands of soldiers and civilian refugees streaming into Gyandzha.

Ex-President Mutalibov Ready To Return to Baku

LD2206081993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] Azerbaijani ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov has told a correspondent for the YEVROAZIYA news agency that he is ready to return home at any moment, but not necessarily to his old post. The main thing, he says, is to avert civil war in Azerbaijan and to free it from the serious economic and political crisis that the People's Front has got the republic into. As you know, Mutalibov has been living in Moscow since his resignation.

Meanwhile, rebel colonel Surat Guseynov has declared that he is assuming full power in Azerbaijan, including the authority of the president.

Guseynov's press secretary has denied a statement by National Independence Party leader Etibar Mamedov that an agreement has been reached not to enter Baku for a week.

Elchibey Appeals to 'Great Powers' for Help

LD2106154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Ankara, 21 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—The Turkish ANATOLIA agency has reported from Nakhichevan that President Abulfaz Elchibey has appealed to the great powers to "give assistance to the people of Azerbaijan." The agency says that his written appeal was circulated by the People's Front of Azerbaijan in the early hours of Monday morning in the town of Ordubad, which is on the territory of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic.

"The future of our country, the fate of our people, and the future of our democracy are at stake. The people of Azerbaijan are facing a military coup," the agency quotes Elchibey as saying. It is noted that the president condemned the "armed uprising against the legitimate government, which came to power by the choice of the people." "The European countries, Turkey, the United States, Russia, Iran, and a number of other countries have taken serious steps in response to this attack against Azerbaijani democracy," the appeal says.

Elchibey urged the country's population to "keep calm." He said that the actions taken by those involved in the military coup are being supported by certain "external forces." "I have not resigned and I won't resign," he stressed.

On Sunday Turkey announced through its consul general in Nakhivechan that it would give "full political support to President Elchibey." This statement was made during a visit which was made to the president of Azerbaijan in his native village of Keleki by Ankara's representative in Nakhichevan, O. Ertugrulogly. "The attempt to present us with a fait

accompli will never be accepted," the Turkish consul general stressed following his meeting with Elchibey. He reported that the president of Azerbaijan has appealed through him to the Turkish leadership to increase humanitarian aid to the population of the country.

Elchibey Meets Nakhichevan Premier

NC2106200693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] According to the Azerbaijani presidential press service, the Azerbaijani Republic's President Abulfaz Elchibey received Shamsaddin Khanbabayev, the prime minister of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR], in Kelepli in Ordubadskiy Rayon on 20 June.

Khambabayev briefed the president on the situation in the autonomous republic and [words indistinct] work in industry. They discussed issues relating to maintaining sociopolitical stability and the supply of basic goods to the population.

Elchibey also received Shahsultan Gezerov, the commander of the NAR border guards. Gezerov provided detailed information to the president on the situation in NAR regions bordering Iran and Armenia, the combat readiness of the border units, and mutual relations with the Iranian border guards.

Namig Abbasov, who took over as national security minister on 20 June, held a telephone contact with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey and briefed him on the general situation in the republic.

Elchibey issued directives to Abbasov on measures required to maintain calm in Baku.

Abbasov said the president will be briefed regularly on the situation in the republic.

Sefer Ebiyev, who took over as the defense minister of the republic on 20 June, briefed Elchibey by phone on the situation around Baku.

The president was interested in the situation in Agdamskiy and Agdere [Mardakertskiy] Rayons and instructed Sefer Ebiyev to provide every assistance to army units in those rayons.

Affiaddin Dzhalilov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, held a telephone conversation with Azerbaijani President Elchibey on 20 June.

Elchibey recommended the National Assembly take urgent measures to resolve the tension in the republic.

During his telephone conversation with State Secretary Ali Kerimov, President Elchibey issued directives calling for the nondisruption of work in the republic, for the more energetic functioning of the executive bodies amid the tension, and for taking measures to enhance stability.

Elchibey Holds News Conference for Turkish Reporters

TA2106204593 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey and rebel leader Surat Guseynov have rejected the calls of the National Assembly. Elchibey reiterated his condition that rebel units should disperse before he returns to Baku. Guseynov, in his turn, announced that he has assumed all powers.

Following Guseynov's announcement, rebel troops poised just outside the capital Baku began entering the city. It is reported that the first group, comprising some 30 soldiers, did not meet any resistance in Baku and that the situation in the city is calm. The rebels, which advanced toward the city center, later took positions 100 meters from the presidential palace. Guseynov, in a statement in Gyandzha, claimed that the attitude of the Azerbaijani administration is not serious and declared that he is assuming all authorities. Noting that he is assuming all powers and responsibilities because of the current circumstances in the country, Guseynov said that parliament chairman Aliyev cannot be acting president.

Elchibey, who left Baku to prevent bloodshed in the country, reiterated that he is still in power, but noted that the rebels must disperse if he is to return to the capital. He held a news conference in Ordubad, Nakhichevan, where he went after leaving Baku. Our correspondent in Nakhichevan Suleyman Cil reports:

[Begin Cil recording] Elchibey held a news conference for Turkish reporters, including the TRT [Turkish Radio and Television], in Ordubad this evening. He declared that keeping the rebels outside Baku is aimed at forcing him to resign through pressure. Pointing out that his return to Baku at this time will further escalate the incidents, Elchibey remarked that the rebels will then submit further demands. Elchibey said that he does not want anyone to be harmed because of himself. He announced that he may return to Baku if the rebels surrounding the city withdraw. Elchibey remarked that the National Assembly does not have the authority to remove a president elected by the people, but the Assembly could contribute to the solution of the problem through resolutions to be adopted and that it has extensive authorities on this subject.

In reply to a question, Elchibey said that it is among the duties of National Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev to work for the solution of the problem, adding that Aliyev's efforts could contribute to a solution and he has wide powers on this matter.

Elchibey declared that recent developments have further exacerbated the situation in Azerbaijan. When he made this statement, however, we believe that he was unaware of the fact that Guseynov had assumed all authorities and some of the rebel units had entered Baku. The political crisis in the country entered a new period following the National Assembly decisions today and the respective responses of Elchibey and Guseynov. It can be said that it has become

more difficult to find a conciliatory solution to the current internal confusion and political crisis in Azerbaijan. [end recording]

Turkish Envoy on Baku Situation, Elchibey Support

TA2106144893 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1425 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Report by Remzi Oner Ozkan]

[Text] Ankara-Baku, (AA)—Turkey has officially informed Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey that it supports the democratically elected president in Azerbaijan and that if any changes are to be introduced, these must be undertaken through democratic means and within the framework of legitimacy.

According to information supplied by Turkish Ambassador to Baku Altan Karamanoglu over the telephone to an ANATOLIA correspondent, Orhan Ertugruloglu, Turkish consul general in Nakhichevan, held a meeting with Elchibey in Ordubad on 19 June, in which he was briefed about the situation and conveyed Turkey's views.

Karamanoglu noted that the Azerbaijani National Assembly convened today to discuss the developments and Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev addressed the session. Karamanoglu declared: "There is no change in the policy conveyed to Elchibey."

Karamanoglu reported that the situation in the city is calm, the advance of rebel units on the capital stopped 10 km from Baku, and these troops did not enter the center.

Asked if the people support Elchibey, Karamanoglu responded: "At this moment, it is difficult to estimate. It is not possible to gauge what people think because there are not any demonstrations."

Pointing out that the political situation is unclear and one must await the decisions of the assembly, Karamanoglu noted that yesterday he spoke several times with Aliyev and opposition leader Etibar Mamedov, who in turn declared that they are trying to find a peaceful solution and resolve the problem without bloodshed.

Guseynov Supporters Remove Two Regional Chiefs From Power

NC2106103393 Baku TURAN in English 0949 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Spelling of all names as received]

[Text] Baku June 21 (TURAN)—Yesterday the heads of the executive power were removed by S. Guseynovs supporters in two other regions of Azerbaijan: Belokan region (480 km to the north-west of Baku) and Ismailly region (360 km to the north-west of Baku). In both cases armed people came to the residence of the heads of the executive power and under the threat of arms removed the legal heads of the regions from power.

This morning an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the chief of Kazakh region police Lieutenant-Colonel Iskhan Ashurov was made. Ashurov didnt suffer, the criminal escaped.

Kazakh region is one of the few regions, where S. Guseynovs supporters couldnt remove legal authorities. And the chief of the regional police rejected the ultimatum of rebels on the surrender of the power more than once.

Aliyev Meets UN Official, Declares Adherence to Democracy

NC2106203493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani Republic's Supreme Soviet, has received the UN representative in Azerbaijan Mahmud Al-Sa'id.

Mahmud al-Sa'id congratulated Aliyev on his election as chairman of the Supreme Soviet and said: The United Nations is following events in Azerbaijan with great (?concern). I am sure your people will allow no fratricide [words indistinct] and will prevent the situation from worsening.

Thanking him for his congratulations, Aliyev said: I am very concerned about the situation in the republic and will do everything to stabilize it. President Abulfaz Elchibey's absence from Baku has aggravated the situation. The broadening Armenian aggression in Karabakh is also exacerbating the problem. But I can assure you as the representative of a prestigious UN organization, that as the parliament speaker, I will act in line with the Azerbaijani Constitution, international law, human rights, and democratic principles.

State adviser Vafa Gulizade also attended the meeting.

Aliyev Interviewed on Political Career

OW2206090193 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 0650 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Interview with Geydar Aliyev, Supreme Soviet chairman, by unidentified correspondent in Aliyev's Nakhichevan office; date not given; from the "Hefte" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] You have had a long career rich with many events. Are you happy with your career and how do you assess your situation today?

[Aliyev] I am satisfied. I consider that, overall, my destiny has been difficult but happy. I have had a happy life. Everything I have experienced, both the good and the difficult and hard—I consider this all to be my enormous asset.

[Correspondent] Are you happy with your children?

[Aliyev] Generally I am also satisfied with my personal life. As you know, my wife died eight years ago in Moscow. I loved her very much. We had a very interesting and rich personal life, and it was interesting and intellectual. Of course, we also had good children. Now, of course, every parent praises his children. I have a daughter and son, and

I am very happy with them. It is true that I find it hard to be separated from my children and my grandchildren; I have grandchildren.

[Correspondent] How many?

[Aliyev laughs] Five grandchildren.

[Correspondent] You are presently living here without your family. What are your living conditions like?

[Aliyev] My conditions are just the same as they are for most ordinary residents of Nakhichevan.

[Correspondent] Without any water?

[Aliyev] Well, first of all, I am living with my relatives. Their apartment is in a five-story building. It is a small three-room apartment. There are no special amenities, and yes, no water or electricity. Often, not just at home but here in my office, I must work by the light of a kerosene lantern which you can see over here.

[Correspondent] So how do you relax with this kind of work schedule? We have already seen something about your schedule, the fact that you often do not leave your office until 0200 in the morning.

[Aliyev] You will not believe me, although you are recording everything with your television camera, and others will not believe me, but I simply never get any rest. [passage omitted]

I built the (Gilyustan) palace. I built it in one and a half years. It is an impressive building without which Azerbaijan would not be Azerbaijan today. The same goes for the Lenin Palace which is now known as the Palace. I built it in two years. Or take the air conditioner plant. I visited it every Sunday and had this plant built in two years. And it was not the only one, look at how many plants I built. And what about the hotels? Take the Azerbaijan Intourist, the (Obsheron), the Moskva Hotel, the Baku Hotel, and the one at the station which is now known as the Karabakh. [passage omitted]

I will tell you my position openly and honestly. I did not play the hypocrite or resort to tricks, and this concerns Gorbachev too. When I saw how he twisted and turned once, twice, three times, this way today and that way tomorrow...[pauses] My relations with him were very good. I was one of those who supported his nomination to the post of general secretary [of the CPSU Central Committee]. I was the first, you understand. It was when Chernenko died. But when I saw...[pauses] Well he finally exposed himself completely.

When I saw this, I could not tolerate it. I told him so to his face. I told him at the Politburo, and I told him face-to-face. I told him all this. And when I told him all this, he did not like it and, of course, he developed a dislike for me. So I felt that our presence was incompatible. Yet to fight against me in one way or another, he aroused those negative forces in Azerbaijan which wrote all kind of slanderous letters about me, and so forth, which were then published in the press. All of this was a lot of nonsense, it was all false.

[Correspondent] Geydar Aliyevich, were you betrayed very often, particularly in [words indistinct], in politics, in your team?

[Aliyev] This is a very interesting question and it is very important, particularly in view of our life today. Yes, unfortunately this happened. I am generally a trustworthy person, and I always trusted very much all those people who worked with me, particularly those who were close to me. I never believed that they could be traitors. They could simply be weak willed or double-dealers, but when I found myself in the next stage of my life—as I said I retired from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and from my position as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers in Moscow—when a new stage in my life began, I saw many people in a different light, and they included some real traitors.

Now what is characteristic—you know those people who tried particularly zealously to prove their allegiance to our common cause and their personal relationship to me, they turned out to be among the biggest traitors. At first this caused me great distress and I found it hard to come to grips with it. Now I look at all this with absolute tranquility. And my suggestion to all politicians in this regard is that they ignore this. However, the Azerbaijani people did not betray me.

[Correspondent] We cannot predict how Geydar Aliyev's human destiny and service career will turn out. All we can say is the actions and words of this politician will not be ordinary. As always, they will evoke sympathy and protests, but not indifference. He helps and hinders too many people at the same time. Possibly this is how it should be in the case of a major politician at such an unstable time and in such a diverse society as ours is today.

'Autonomous Republic' Declared Near Iranian Border

TA2106182293 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] There have been reports that, taking advantage of the chaotic situation in Azerbaijan, Colonel Alikram Gumbatov has declared an autonomous republic in Lenkoran region, which is under his control, near the Iranian border. It has been reported that Gumbatov submitted certain demands to the Azerbaijani National Assembly and when his demands were not met, he declared the autonomous Mugan Talysh republic.

This report, carried by the Azerbaijani-Turkish Agency, has not yet been confirmed by official sources. Gumbatov had previously rejected claims that he intends to establish an autonomous republic in Lenkoran and later merge with Iran.

Lawmakers Investigate Plan for New Republic

LD2106115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 21 TASS —Azeri lawmakers urgently contacted Alikram Gumbatov, a rebel leader who has established his control over the southern city of Lenkoran, after it was anounced at the parliamentary session on Monday that he plans to create an independent republic in the south of Azerbaijan.

Gumbatov, a former ally of the president of Azerbaijan who has solidarised with another rebel leader Surat Guseynov, had reportedly warned local authorities in Lenkoran that if they do not support him he will create the Mugan Talysh Republic.

However, lawmakers denied the reports saying that it is quiet in Lenkoran and no separatist demands were voiced.

Earlier Gumbatov had himself denied plans to create an independent republic.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Views Request for Powers, Azerbaijan

LD2106171893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani in Tbilisi on 21 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] Good morning. Mr. Shevardnadze, head of state and chairman of parliament, is in our studio today. Mr. Shevardnadze, during last Friday's parliament session, some MP's demanded your resignation. Others said that you should remain chairman of parliament, because they believed the institute of head of state was tantamount to the presidency. There were also those who offered to combine your post with the post of prime minister. Much to their surprise, you asked for extra powers [words indistinct]. What does it all mean?

[Shevardnadze] Good morning, [passage indistinct].

It is impossible to fight, especially to win, on both fronts. It is difficult for large countries to do it, and even more so for such countries as our beleaguered motherland. My opponents know well that an internal front is more painful and often causes the majority of the problems with regard to constructing our state. [passage omitted]

It is natural to ask for extra powers in Georgia's case and in the case of any other country in crisis. A strong authority—and I am speaking of a legally elected authority acting within the framework of the law—and the supremacy of parliament are necessary preconditions and factors to steer this country out of its present crisis.

[Oniani] Perhaps the decision to ask for extra powers has come a little late?

[Shevardnadze] It may be a late decision, but this issue could not have been raised earlier. I believe that all of us had to mature to take such a decisive and radical step. I do not think that it is by chance that some statements by the National Democrats and the Republicans are so revolutionary and radical. This idea matured within parliament, and the public and I feel gratified to be sharing this view.

It is necessary to have a strong authority, to strengthen the authority, and to strengthen the state. Some steps in this direction have been made in practice, but they need to be formalized. How this will happen may become clear in the very near future.

[Oniani] You stressed that in order to overcome the present crisis, it was necessary to create a unified Georgian Army that would be controlled by the state, rather than a single party, to upgrade the coordination role played by the state in the economy, and to use emergency measures if necessary to combat corruption. [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] My strict tone did not mean much. I listed the priorities that should be addressed by the state and the public. These are: creating an army; the economy and certain issues related to it; and what I believe is one of the most acute issues, and that is corruption—its present scale, and its barbaric manifestations. Firearms are being used, human lives are being threatened, people are being kidnapped, and so on. The use of some nasty methods I heard about in the most horrific detective films has become widespread in Georgia. We must fight against this. Fighting such crimes—which are unacceptable in any normal society—requires strictness, more strictness, on the part of all state institutions. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] Much has been said recently about the threat of a social explosion. You spoke about this in parliament. Our people live in extreme social conditions and are deprived of even such basic things as order and a sufficient amount of bread. You are opposed to forming a majority faction. To be more precise, you did not express your opinion about the issue itself and about your part in forming this majority. Is it because you do not want to invite the opposition to act, or is it because you are looking for political support somewhere else?

[Shevardnadze] You mentioned a social explosion. There can be no argument that this may happen. However, I would like to tell our listeners, if this happens—and there are some political forces that are calling on the people to take to the street—it will mean that Georgia is doomed and ultimately dead. [passage omitted]

The issue of the majority is very serious, and it was quite rightly put on the agenda. However, it is not accidental that I do not make quick decisions and did not agree to be involved in forming the majority today or tomorrow. I am looking for guarantees. I must be sure that the majority is stable and that it does not form today and split up tomorrow. Unless such guarantees are available, it is risky for the head of state and chairman of parliament to join such a majority.

Second, we must talk not only about a parliamentary majority but also about a parliamentary majority leading to a majority in the public and to the unification of our political forces. It will make sense in this case. Let us think about it. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] You said in parliament that you would soon present a new program of action, a new platform, as you called it. Should we expect any extraordinary and radical changes?

[Shevardnadze] Nothing extraordinarily radical. I must say, in general, that I cannot offer anything revolutionary or extraordinary either for the parliament or the public. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] [passage indistinct] Is it expedient for Georgia to be in this economic space? Will the common economic space lead to increasing political interests and ambitions on the part of Russia. Excuse my blunt question but, to put it very simply, would Russia be impeded by any agreement, resolution, or other document if it wanted to reconquer Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to ask everyone, the entire public, to develop a new approach to the concept of integration of the economies of various states. [passage omitted]

[Oniani] The political process taking place in neighboring Azerbaijan is rather complex. What do you think about the situation there, and how will it affect our country and relations between the two countries?

[Shevardnadze] I have already spoken briefly about the processes going on in Azerbaijan and expressed my concern as a neighbor and friend about the difficulties being experienced by our fraternal nation. The only hope I can express now is that the Azerbaijani people will display their typical wisdom and foresight and restore a normal and stable situation. This is vitally important for Georgia. A lot is dependent on our neighboring country being stable, including the fate of Georgia and prospects for peace here. In my opinion it is possible to achieve a balance of power in Azerbaijan, which will lead the country out of this complex situation and crisis. This is my hope, in general.

I have met President Elchibey on many occasions. Mr. Aliyev has now come to the leadership of the Supreme Soviet. I know his position. I have known him for a long time. I have had contacts with other forces. I believe that they are people who can both find a common language with the population and achieve stability in their country.

I have one request. When our political figures—members of parliament and others—speak about Azerbaijan, they should be careful about what they say. Saying who they support, and so on, is not only tactless but also immoral at a time when the country and people must decide for themselves. I believe our attitude should be to take to heart the pains of the Azerbaijani people, but we should never even think of imposing our opinion on any group, offering them something, and so on. This was my position, and it remains the same now.

Shevardnadze, U.S. Envoys View Current Situation

LD2206084993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 22 Jun 93

[Text] On 21 June, the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state met Lynn Hansen, U.S. representative to the CSCE, who was visiting Tbilisi. During their talk, the sides touched on the political and social situation in Georgia and the state and prospects of Russo-Georgian relations. They talked about how Georgia viewed the agreement on the conventional weapons reduction in Europe. Kent Brown, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the U.S. to Georgia, and other officials participated in the meeting.

Shevardnadze To Visit Belgium, Germany

LD2106165693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] An official visit by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, to Belgium and Germany will start on 22 June.

In Belgium Shevardnadze will meet the NATO leadership; General Shalikashvili, supreme allied commander, Europe, and commander of the U.S. European Command; the King of Belgium; and others.

The Shevardnadze delegation's itinerary in Germany will be businesslike. Meetings and talks are scheduled with Chancellor Helmut Kohl as well as with President Richard von Weizsaecker, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and other high-ranking officials. Meetings are also planned with German business circles, under the auspices of Mr. (Americon), president of Germany's Association of Industrialists. Some 10 agreements on the economic, transport, cultural, educational, legal, and other spheres have been prepared for signing.

Shevardnadze Thanks Uzbek Leader for Restoring Gas Supply

AU2106162193 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Message from Eduard Shevardnadze to Uzbek President Islam Karimov; date not given]

[Text] Respected Islam Abdugan dze [son of Abdugan],

I thank you, despite objective difficulties, for responding to our demand and, thanks to your efforts, Georgia is again receiving gas.

I believe that such willingness to offer mutual aid can become the best guarantee for the development of good relations between our countries.

I am convinced that both Georgia and Uzbekistan will successfully overcome the difficulties facing them. I wish your people peace and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,

Eduard Shevardnadze

Abkhaz Defense Council Issues Statement on Aid

LD2106172193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1527 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia has issued a statement in which it reports that on 19 June humanitarian aid was provided to the population of the towns of Sukhumi, Gagra, and Tkvarcheli, carried out under the aegis of the UN. Support from the government of Georgia helped ensure the successful operation.

It should be noted, it says in the statement, that the Gudauta side once again showed its aggressive inclination and aspiration to escalate the conflict. Residential areas of the town of Sukhumi and Russian navy vessels carrying refugees were subjected to massive shelling.

Special regret is caused by the fact that all this is happening after the recent visit of the Russian Government delegation under the leadership of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, during which the head of Russia's foreign policy department declared the readiness of the Russian leadership to stop the escalation of the conflict in Abkhazia.

The Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia expresses a resolute protest in connection with the radical speeches of General Chindarov aimed at the Georgian Government, and appeals to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, as guarantor of the cease-fire in the conflict zone, to make the utmost effort to stop the actions of reactionary generals and to establish peace.

Warns of Plan To Capture Sukhumi

LD2106173293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Major General Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a letter to Georgian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze which says:

According to the information available to us, in connection with completion of humanitarian aid to the cities of Sukhumi, Tkvarcheli, and Gagra and taking into consideration the Moscow consultations on peaceful settlement of the Abkhaz conflict now under way, the leadership of Gudauta group is preparing a wide-scale military operation to capture the city of Sukhumi in order to influence the participants of the negotiations and to achieve the desired political aim. The Gudauta group is to ask the personnel of the air force and the navy, which, as is known, Abkhaz armed formations do not have, to participate in capturing the capital of the autonomous republic.

In connection with this, we ask you to draw the attention of the Russian Federation Embassy in Georgia to consider the above- mentioned issue and remind the Russian Embassy of the guarantees of the ceasefire in Abkhazia given by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and also the promises given by the delegation of the Russian Federation Government during Mr. Andrey Kozyrev's recent visit to Georgia, that Russia would not escalate further combat actions in Abkhazia.

We think it is necessary to stress the fact that the success of the above-mentioned humanitarian aid carried out by Russia under UN auspices depends greatly on the good will and trust which the Georgian side has always shown toward its organizers at a time when the Abkhaz side has hindered the delivery of humanitarian aid to Tkvarcheli. We would like to hope that the leadership of the Russian Federation will assess this stand of Georgia and its peaceable government properly and carry out its duties. Please take the necessary measures to eradicate the armed action against the civilians of Sukhumi which can wreck the peaceful talks of the parties concerned.

Defense Ministry Dismisses Deputy Minister

AU2206101293 Tbilisi 7 DGHE in Georgian 18-24 Jun 93 p 7

[Unattributed article under rubric "Politics": "The Commander of the Border Troops Has Been Dismissed"]

[Text] According to a decision by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense, as a result of not carrying out the order to deploy troops on the North Caucasian border, Panteleimon Giorgadze, commander of the Georgian National Army Border Troops [and deputy defense minister], has been dismissed from his post. Colonel Lursmanashvili has temporarily been entrusted with carrying out the duties of commander. In spite of the fact that the dismissal of a deputy minister does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense and is the right of the country's supreme commander in chief, Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Eduard Shevardnadze readily agreed with the decision.

Clashes Between S. Ossetian OMON, 'Bands' Reported

AU2106142493 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Resistance is Continuing"]

[Text] For several days now, armed confrontations have been taking place in the Tskhinvali region between "OMON" [special purpose militia] detachments of the so-called Republic of South Ossetia and different bands that are engaging in criminal activities here. There are casualties. This situation is not, as yet, having an effect upon the situation of the population in Georgian villages. However, it is still dangerous for Georgians to pass through Tskhinvali. SAKINFORM correspondent Tengiz Chkhikvadze was informed by Onise Gachechiladze, observer of the Georgian peace forces in the region.

Estonia

Laar Criticizes Russian Foreign Ministry Statement

WS2106151493 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0720 GMT 21 Jun 93

[From 20 June PAEVALEHT, p.20]

[Text] Monday, June 21—Prime Minister Mart Laar commented on the Russian Foreign Ministry statement on Friday [18 June] as a "rude interfering with Estonia's internal affairs." The Russian Foreign Ministry accused Estonia of "confronting Russia." "The Tallinn policy of confrontation and artificial deterioration of relations with Russia can bring along unforeseeable consequences regarding the entire Baltic region. Estonia bears the whole responsibility for what is happening and that also concerns Estonia's partners who close their eyes to the aggressive nationalism currently on the rise there..," the Russian statement reads.

"I hope that the Russian authorities are not going to organise provocations in Estonia or to deteriorate the peaceful and constructive atmosphere," Laar commented. He added that the statement indicated a lack of information of the laws discussed at the parliament. "The claims that the laws would deprive people of work or shelter are completely imagined and the Russian Foreign Ministry bears the responsibility for it," he said.

The statement made at the anniversary of Estonia's national currency demonstrates Estonia's progress and "Russia's dissatisfaction with that progress," Laar added.

Russia's Medvedev Says No Grounds for Military Threat

WS2206080993 Tallinn BNS in English 2054 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Narva, Estonia, June 16, BNS—Nikolay Medvedev, who heads the Russian side of the commission monitoring the fulfillment of the Estonian-Russian treaty on foundations for relations between the countries, expressed concern over what he called the Estonian leaders' increasingly radical nationalistic way of thinking.

The treaty-monitoring commission, headed by Medvedev, and Enn Leisson from the Estonian side, visited the northeast Estonian border town of Narva Tuesday.

Following complaints by Narva's local leaders over problems arising from the actions of both Estonian and Russian authorities, Medvedev said it was "difficult to speak" with Estonia's present leaders. In his words the country's current leadership in that respect differs greatly from the previous one.

When speakers were critical of the strict border and customs controls imposed by Russia, Medvedev said such complaints should be directed to the Estonian authorities.

The Russian co-chairman of the commission said a radical nationalistic way of thinking was gaining ground in Estonia's ruling bodies. "Such correlation of forces may again create a wish in the Russian parliament to influence Estonia with other means," he said.

In an interview with BNS Medvedev said by these 'other means' he didn't mean economic sanctions, as those would above all harm the interests of the Russian workers living in Estonia.

Medvedev said that there are 'no grounds' to speak of military threat from Russia. But in a strange way he in this connection reminded a recent meeting with Americans, who, he said, had expressed surprise over why Russia wasn't "using its army to impose law and order in Chechenia".

Defense Chief Einseln Becomes Major General

WS1806142993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1814 GMT 17 June 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 17—Head of Estonia's Defence Forces, Aleksander Einseln, became Major General by President Lennart Meri's decree of June 17, the President's press office informed ETA.

Einseln is a retired U.S. Army colonel who was appointed head of Estonia's Army on May 4.

Einseln, 62, who was born in Tallinn and became naturalised American citizen in 1949, accepted the appointment despite opposition from the White House.

President Meri Appoints New Ambassador

WS2106151693 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1847 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 18—President Lennart Meri awarded the rank of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Andres Tomasberg as of June 17, 1993. Andres Tomasberg is currently heading the 2nd bureau of the Estonian Foreign Ministry.

Latvia

Russia 'Practically' Halts Armed Forces Withdrawal

WS2106121193 Tallinn BNS in English 1630 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Riga, June 19, BNS - Russia practically has halted the withdrawal of its armed force units and turnover of military installations to Latvia, the head of the Latvian bureau for monitoring the withdrawal, Ilgonis Upmalis, told the Diena newspaper.

According to information at the disposal of the bureau, Russia's respective decision is based on a 10 [date as received] statement by President Boris Yeltsin, which he made at a meeting of the command of Russia's armed forces.

Upmalis declined to elaborate.

Yeltsin in the statement mentioned the unpreparedness of necessary housing facilities in Russia and what he called continuing human rights violations in Estonia and Latvia as reasons making it necessary to suspend the withdrawal.

Russian leaders and army leadership also on different occasions earlier have announced suspending the pullout, but the process then actually wasn't halted.

Russian Servicemen Caught Smuggling Jet Fuel

WS1806141993 Tallinn BNS in English 1304 GMT 17 June 93

[Text] Riga, June 17, BNS—Latvian officials discovered 5,000 tons of aviation fuel smuggled into Latvia by Russian servicemen.

The fuel, earmarked to go on to Sweden on the Swedish Dalanes ship, ended up in Riga against the terms of an agreement between Latvia and Russia, said Ilgonis Upmalis, head of the bureau monitoring the Russian troops withdrawal.

Russia is free to import fuel to Latvia exclusively for the needs of its military in Latvia, he said. The agreement also requires Russia to gain permits from the monitoring bureau.

The fuel is held at the army unit in Riga, he said. The territory was bought earlier by the LatWestEast firm, but the firm denies any links to the deal.

The monitoring bureau informed the customs department, which is now conducting a more detailed investigation into the case.

Lithuania

Brazauskas on Visit to France, Ties With Europe

MK1806112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas by Aleksandr Bangerskiy in Paris following his meeting with the French president on 15 June; under "Visit" rubric: "Lithuania, a Bridge Between East and West. What Brazauskas Discussed With Mitterrand"]

[Text] [Bangerskiy] Mr. President, what is the aim of your visit to France?

[Brazauskas] The main aim of this unofficial visit is to meet with French President Francois Mitterrand. Our talks lasted over two hours and we touched on many questions of interest to both countries. Lithuania is one of the post-communist states, with all the problems typical of such states. The process of addressing these problems, in our opinion, is proceeding normally and democratically. This enables us to say that we are moving closer to Europe, to the European community. To be sure, this path is long and difficult. President Mitterrand and I devoted considerable time to this question, which bears not only on Lithuania but also Latvia and Estonia.

The second question that we discussed and which concerns not only Lithuania, not only all the Baltic states, but the entire world, is the withdrawal of Russian troops. Lithuania is the first Baltic state from which troops will be pulled out. I am certain that this will happen by the end of this August.

And naturally we discussed bilateral relations between France and Lithuania and the possibilities of French aid for our young state, our young independence. This is, assistance in upgrading the banking system, in organizing a securities exchange, and teaching French. We talked about possible economic links and about the effective use of French capital to ensure quick payback and profit.

[Bangerskiy] In what areas do you think such quick yields are possible?

[Brazauskas] In many fields, but primarily in precision machine building, instrument engineering, and radio electronics, which is very well developed in our country because part of it has served the military-industrial complex of the Soviet Union. Now this industry needs reorganization, no question. But since there are buildings, an entire infrastructure, and existing labor collectives—workers, engineers—it would be easy to produce marketable goods quickly with relatively little capital investment. Goods primarily for the Eastern market. This could be tackled by joint ventures or even enterprises with a majority share of Western capital. At present we have prepared many enterprises for privatization by foreign capital in hard currency. We have passed corresponding legislative acts which safeguard this capital and regulate its use: There are no limitations on profit repatriation, and 50 percent of joint venture profits are exempt from taxation.

One area for possible cooperation is the construction and development of communications. There is an idea to build a high- speed railway line from Scandinavia to Western Europe—to Berlin and farther on. France, which has wonderful experience in building such railways, could in my opinion very actively and profitably participate in this project. We also have proposals for the development of the seaport: to increase several-fold its operating capacity. Some firms have displayed interest in this. Among possible joint projects I would like to mention the building of an oil terminal, an oil pipeline, and modernization of an oil refinery.

[Bangerskiy] In what other areas, in addition to purely economic ones, are there possibilities for Lithuania's collaboration with Western partners?

[Brazauskas] Earlier I mentioned the upgrading of the banking system. For us, who have had no normal banking system of our own, the study of Western methods of operation and automation of banking settlements is highly relevant.

Another very important area is crime control, especially of organized crime, which is taking on an alarming scope in the Baltic and other post-communist states. Collaboration between our police, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and corresponding Western structures could be useful not only for us but for all Europe since we are located in a special geographic position: Through the Baltic bottleneck various people are trying to get in, including criminals and illegal immigrants.

[Bangerskiy] How do you envision Lithuania's future role in Europe?

[Brazauskas] Lithuania is not such a large state to lay claim to any special role. Of course, we must find our place in Europe, in the European collective security system. We understand that we cannot be one somebody's side, in any camp, in any defense structure. I would say that we are a kind of bridge, a meeting place for East and West. This is our role, which is gradually beginning to take shape. We are looking for ways of cooperation with both sides.

One should bear in mind that there is Kaliningrad Oblast, which belongs to Russia, and this also obligates us to build our relations with Russia accordingly.

To be sure, all three Baltic states are seeking to move closer to the European community. Lithuania and Estonia have already been admitted to the European Council—this is a major step forward in our political situation. Our aim, as well as the aim of other post- communist states, is to find a way out of the situation in which we have found ourselves as a result of Soviet occupation, and emerge as a normal, democratic state. I think that we have partially accomplished this goal.

[Bangerskiy] In the view of some observers, Baltic integration has recently slowed down. Would you agree with this?

[Brazauskas] No, I would not agree with this appraisal. I would say quite the contrary: Now that the election campaign has ended in Latvia, when the entire political structure in the three Baltic states has stabilized, possibilities for integration are becoming ever more concrete.

As before, I am convinced that all our three Baltic states should create a kind of Council of Ministers through which to collaborate among our countries.

[Brazauskas] What is your vision of Russian-Lithuanian relations, especially in light of Lithuania's continued dependence on Russia?

[Brazauskas] We are seeking to make these relations normal. We should define very clearly a trade regime between our two states. We also need to determine our relations in the sphere of transit cargoes. This problem remains because in Kaliningrad Oblast the cargo traffic is fairly high and this question has so far not been addressed.

As for economic relations, they should be mutually beneficial and be regulated by the balance of trade between Russia and Lithuania.

The main share of Lithuania's energy resources is today coming from Russia—I am talking both about organic fuel and about fuel for nuclear power plants. I think that this situation will continue for a long time yet but I would not call it dependence. Naturally, if we have an opportunity to buy cheaper somewhere we would use such opportunities.

I would like to stress once again that one of the areas shaping our further relations with Russia is the withdrawal of troops. So far it is proceeding normally.

[Bangerskiy] Are there any outstanding issues?

[Brazauskas] One such issue is economic settlements with our Russian partners. Deliveries by our enterprises to Russia constitute the main share of our export. At the same time settlements for goods delivered are not proceeding in an orderly way, with many partners building up large debts, and this places our manufacturers in a difficult position. But overall I do not see any insoluble problems.

[Bangerskiy] Do you think that with your election a crucial change has occurred in relations between Russia and Lithuania?

[Brazauskas] I would not say that it has been crucial, but a certain change has indeed occurred. We have appointed an ambassador to Russia and invigorated our diplomatic activity. A round of talks has been held between delegations of the two countries. We have prepared and submitted to the Russian president's apparatus a draft agreement on troop withdrawal. I hope it will be signed. We are also preparing a number of economic agreements.

[Bangerskiy] During the time since your election there has been no improvement in Lithuania's economic situation. Are you not afraid that this could affect your personal popularity as well as your rating within the party?

[Brazauskas] I do not agree with this wording of the question. In assessing my performance and the performance of the government that I appointed, the reference point should be last January. During this time some positive economic changes have occurred. First of all, industrial output decline has been suspended and production is even beginning to pick up pace. Second, we have stabilized our temporary currency and its fall has stopped. Inflation has fallen by between six and eight times. We have doubled the wages of employees at budget-subsidized organizations. And it is gratifying that recently prices virtually ceased to rise. True, for some goods prices are still rising but considerably less so than in the past.

With the introduction of our national currency, and this will take place in the near future, we shall continue our anti-inflation policy, and I hope that it will be successful.

Views Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD2106211793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1627 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius, 21 Jun—"There is no way Lithuania can move toward the West by turning its back on the East", Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said this evening at a news conference on the results of his recent visit to France.

The head of the Lithuanian state said that France as well as other Western countries is in favor of Lithuania normalizing its relations with all its neighbors, including Russia.

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent on whether the talks in Paris touched upon the topic of Russian troop withdrawals from Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas said that during his conversation with the French president he expressed "confidence that these troops will be withdrawn in accordance with the schedule, namely by 31 August this year, as stated in the agreement."

The Lithuanian president added that the troop withdrawals "are proceeding without serious complications, though hitches happen sometimes for which both sides are to blame."

President Said Collaborating With Russian Military

WS1806141193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1430 GMT 17 Jun 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 268]

[Text] A Constitutional Security Commission released a statement yesterday reading that public statements made by the Lithuanian President and by the National Defence Minister concerning plans to collaborate with the Russian Army are the signs of attempts to incorporate Lithuania in a post—Soviet military union. "The Lithuanian officials have stated openly their intentions to manage together with Russia its military enterprises on Lithuania's territory and to send Lithuanian specialists in airborne landing and in Navy Fleet for training to Russia, as well as to form Lithuanian armament in line with the Russian one", it has been remarked on the statement. According to the authors of the statement, activities of this sort would violate the Lithuanian Constitution and the constitutional act on "Lithuania's position to stay away from post—soviet eastern unions". The Constitutional Security Commission was established in April upon the initiative of Lithuanian Citizen Charter. Its principle objectives are to defend the Lithuanian constitution as the guarantee of statehood, democracy and citizenship, and to observe that the government's actions and nominal acts do not contradict the main law of the state. The commission is headed by Antanas Buracas, a professional economist and scholar.

Talks With Russia on Troop Transport Slowed

WS2106143493 Tallinn BNS in English 1128 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 21, BNS—Lithuanian and Russian negotiators slowed to a crawl in their talks on an agreement to transport Russian troops through Lithuania.

The protocol, which would allow Russia to withdraw its troops in Germany through Lithuania, has become mired in questions of payments and transportation, said one official.

In an interview with the Lietuvos Rytas, the leader of the Lithuanian delegation Katuoka, said that the basic agreement had been coordinated. But only 15 payment provisions of the 37 have been approved. Nor is there any agreement on the procedure for settling mutual accounts, he said.

Although Russia wants Lithuania to pay for Russian goods and services in hard currency, it insists that it pay its transit fees in rubles. Lithuania cannot accept such a proposal, say negotiators.

Slezevicius To Restore Dialogue With U.S. Emigrants

WS2106121293 Tallinn BNS in English 1630 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 19, BNS - Lithuania must find more points of contact with its emigre community, Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius said in an interview with the Voice of America after beginning his visit to the United States.

Slezevicius, who arrived in the United States Thursday [17 June], was to participate in a conference of the Lithuanian emigres in America. The meeting in Detroit on Saturday and Sunday was expected to be attended by a number of outstanding public figures of North America. But the premier is said to face much criticism from the exile community against the policy of Lithuania's current leaders and the ruling Democratic Labor Party.

Slezevicius has said he is ready to restore a dialogue between Lithuania, its government and the new leadership from one side, and the emigre community, as the other. He said Lithuanians living in exile not always have a profound understanding of the developments in Lithuania.

Also the head of the Centrist Union, Romualdas Ozolas, the leader of the Social Democrats Aloyzas Sakalas and a member of the conservative Fatherland union, Saulius Saltenis, will participate in the conference.

The Lithuanian prime minister will begin a series of meetings with U.S. administration officials and bank leaders in Washington on Monday.

Free Trade Accord With Armenia Signed

WS1806143493 Tallinn BNS in English 2034 GMT 17 June 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 17, BNS—Lithuania and Armenia Thursday [17 June] concluded an agreement on free trade.

The document was signed by Kazimeieras Juozas Klimasauskas, Lithuania's industry and trade minister, and Tigran Grigoryan, Armenia's trade minister.

Klimasauskas said duty-free trade with Armenia would be more efficient if Lithuania had similar agreement with Russia and other transit countries.

According to the document, Armenia this year will sell around 500 tons of aluminum, 200 tons of India rubber, electric equipment, tools, cables, jewelry and footwear. Lithuania will offer paper, fabrics, dairy products, electric household appliances and machinery.

Belarus and Armenia are the only post-Soviet republics to have signed free trade agreements with Lithuania so far.